

ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME VI

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Journal of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society
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Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME VI

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THE CAHOKIA MISSION PROPERTY

(Continued from January-April Number, 1923)

THE MISSION PLANTATION

In 1718 Reverend Dominic Anthony Thaumur de la Source and Reverend John le Mercier were sent to take charge of the Mission of the Tamarois at Cahokia, and Father de la Source remained in the mission until 1728. Soon after their arrival these two missionaries secured a grant of land for their residence.

The grant to the Fathers of the Foreign Missions, being amongst the very earliest grants of Illinois property, is very interesting and is here reproduced in full:

LAND GRANT TO THE SEMINARY OF THE FOREIGN MISSIONS

"Antoine de la Motte Cadillac, Governor of the Province of Louisiana and Jean Baptiste Duclos, Esquire, Sieur de Montigny, Councillor of the King, commissioner of Marine, Manager in the said Province:

Upon the request made to us by the Reverend Priests, Missionaries of this Colony, requesting us to grant unto them the concession of a piece of land situate in the Island of 'Duaphine' containing eight arpents (acres) on the front of the Marsh to the North, bounded to the East by Jean Robert, to the West by . . . and extending to the South to the seaside (probably mistranslated. More likely "riverside), for the purpose of building a residence.

We, in virtue of the powers given to Us by His Majesty, have hereby granted, and do hereby grant, have conceded and do hereby concede unto the Reverend Missionaries, the herein before piece of land, to have and to hold the same unto them their heirs and assigns in absolute property without hindrance, and to use and dispose of the same as they may think proper, subject to the condition of improving,

enhancing it within two next consecutive years, if not and in default of doing so, the said lot of land shall be surrendered to the domain of His Majesty, who shall have the power of disposing of the same as if the present Concession had never taken place, and subject to the payment of the seigniorial dues and duties if any are established hereafter in the said province of Louisiana. We reserving nevertheless for His Majesty the permission of taking on the said land all and every the timber required for His Majesty's fortifications, stores and other works that His Majesty, has ordered or may hereafter order to be constructed for His service in this country even for the repairs and keels of his vessels, every and each time they may require it, and also the necessary land for the erection of fortifications.

In faith whereof we have signed these presents which shall be registered in the record office of the Superior Council, of the said

Province within two months from this date.

Granted at the Fort of Louisiana this sixteenth day of December Seventeen hundred and fifteen.¹²

(Signed) "Duclos" sealed the said day. (Signed) "LAMOTH CADILLAC" (L. S.)

Emegistered in the registers of the Superior Council of Louisiana, by us the undersigned Chief Clerk of the said council the seventeenth day of December seventeen hundred & fifteen.

(Signed) "RAGUET" with his paraph.

Father Bergier's death left the mission without a pastor, and considerable time elapsed before a new pastor was appointed. The Jesuits in the meantime continued their activities and the Gentlemen of the Seminary, as the Fathers of the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Quebec were popularly called, fearing perhaps that the Jesuits might supplant them, applied to the bishop for further authority, which was granted in a letter, as follows:

"We John by the Grace of God and of the Holy Apostolical See Bishop of Quebec in New France:

To all to whom the present Letters shall Come send Greeting and blessing in our Lord.

Although by our Letters Patent bearing date the fourteenth day of July 1698, we have granted to the Superior and Directors of the Seminary of Foreign Missions of Quebec, a special power to send Missionaries among the Indian tribes of Tamarois, and to make such residences, settlements and missions that they will find suitable, seeing that the Country inhabited by the said Tamarois Indian is as one would say, the key and the necessary passage to penetrate among the

¹² This document, copy of which is found in the diocesan archives of Belleville, Illinois, is of course very vague but the Fathers were already in possession and the lands could thus be identified.

tribes that are further in the interior and to facilitate the access to those same tribes. However, the reverend Mr. Varlet, Vicar General and Missionary of the Tamarois Indians, having made representations to Us to the effect that before his arrival in the said Mission, a considerable delay having elapsed without the Quebec Seminary being able to send some missionaries to take the place of the reverend Mr. Bergier, who had died there while labouring for the conversion of the said Indians, it might be feared that some one might perhaps consider Our Letters Patent dated the 14 July, 1698, as one would say, superannuated and that Missionaries of some other order might feel inclined to contest the possession of the said Missions by the said Seminary, he has in consequence begged of Us to grant unto him New Letters Patent confirmatory of those of the hereinbefore cited

month and year.

We being willing to favour the zeal of the said Seminary for the conversion of the infidels, taking into consideration the remonstrances that have been made to Us by the said Reverend Mr. Varlet, have and do hereby authorize the said Superior and Directors of the said Missions at the Tamarois hereby confirming those Letters Patent issued the 14th July 1698 as well also as those bearing date the first day of May of the same year 1698, whereby we granted to the said Superior and Directors a full power to settle themselves and institute missions among the Indian tribes living on both sides of the River Mississippi and along the shores of the said river, its tributaries, confirming moreover the contents of the said Letters and hereby revoking all other letters and powers that we might have granted to others if any such Letters are found contrary to these presents. Hereby reserving to ourselves the power when the said Missionaries of the Foreign Missions of Quebec abandon the said country to give the said mission of the Tamarois to whom we may think proper in order that the souls of the inhabintants do not remain abandoned.

Given at Quebec under Our hand, and that of Our Secretary, sealed with our Seal at Arms this sixth day of October seventeen

hundred and seventeen.

(Signed) John Bishop of Quebec and under by the reverend Armand and sealed with his seal at Arms.

Compared on the original written on paper by the undersigned Notary Royal in the prevostship of Quebec to him exhibited and immediately returned with these presents at Quebec this nineteenth day of October eighteen hundred and seventeen.

(Signed) "DuBreuil & his paraph.

"Michael Bigon, Knight & Signor of Picardie Merbelin and other places, Councillor of the King in His Councils and in the Parliament of Metz, High Steward (Intendant) of Justice, police and finances in New France, do certify to all whom these presents appertain that DuBreuil who has collated the above document is a Notary Royal in the Town and Prevostship of Quebec, that full faith is given to the deeds collated and compared by him, in testimony whereof we have

signed these presents and thereto attached our seal at Arms and caused the same to be countersigned by one of Our Secretaries in Our Palace at Quebec this nineteenth day of October one thousand seven hundred and seventeen.¹³

(L. S) (Signed) BIGON and under by my lord (Signed) BARBET."

THE FOUR LEAGUES SQUARE GRANT

The Fathers now petitioned the government for a large tract of land for use as a plantation in connection with the mission establishment, and had the good fortune to have the petition promptly granted.

The grant and the record thereof, which are the foundation of the claim to the large property, which was to make history, especially in land transactions, were as follows:

We Pierre Dugue de Boisbriant Knight of the military order of St. Lewis, first Lieutenant of the King in the province of Louisiana, Commandant at the Illinois and Marc Antoine de la Loire des Ursins, principal manager of the Royal Company of the Indies at the said place.

On the request of the reverend Missionaries of the Kahokias and Tamarois praying for a grant of four square leagues of land in fee simple (en franc aleu) with the adjacent Islands, commencing at one fourth of a league above the little river of the Cahokias situate above the Indian Village and Comming back towards the fort of Chartres, following the course and along the Mississippi running in depth.

We, in consequence of Our Powers, The said land has been granted to the Reverend Gentlemen Missionaries of the Kahokias and of the Tamarois in fee simple (franc Aleu) on which land they may from this moment commence to clear and cultivate the land and sow on the same while waiting for the regular Concession that shall be sent from France by the General Directors of the Royal Company of the Indies at the Fort Chartres this twenty second day of June seventeen hundred and twenty two.

(Signed) Boisbriant Des Ursins'

We the undersigned, do hereby certify that this copy of the deed of Concession conforms to the original. At the Tamarois this 21st day of May 1732.

(Signed) THAMURE P. PRITHUIS."

¹³ Entire document (copy) in the diocesan archives of Belleville.

EXTRACT FROM THE REGISTERS OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF THE ILLINOIS

"In the year seventeen hundred and twenty two the twenty second day of June, granted unto the Reverend Missionaries of the Cahokias and Tamarois, four square leagues of land in fee simple (en franc aleu) with the adjacent Islands commencing in ascending the Mississippi one quarter of a league above the small river of the Cahokias situate below the village of the Indians and comming back and following the course and along the River Mississippi towards the Fort of Chartres running in depth towards the North East quarter North.

(Signed) Boisbriant Des Ursins

The above has been taken from and has been collated by the undersigned Notary from the records of the Provincial Council of the Illinois being in the record office at the said place Aux Cas this fourteenth day of May seventeen hundred & Forty three.

(Signed) Barvis his paraph.

We the undersigned do hereby certify that the above abstract is a true copy of the record which is in the possession of Mtre Barrois, Notary of the lands which have been conceded by the late Mr. de Boisbraint and Des Ursins, Commandant and Councillor in the Provincial Council of the Country. In testimony whereof we have signed these presents this seventeenth day of May seventeen hundred and forty three.

(Signed) ECHE DE PARLEA DEVAION HAMON¹⁴
Acting Judge at the Illinois."

In 1728 Father De la Source returned to Canada, and Rev. Joseph Courrier and Rev. Joseph Gaston were sent on to the Tamarois mission. Father Gaston was killed by Indians soon after reaching the Tamarois, another martyr to the Faith, but Father Courrier labored at the post for several years, and was regarded as a man of extraordinary sanctity. Broken in health he went to New Orleans for medical treatment, and died among the Capuchin Fathers in the fall of 1753.

Father Mercier, who came in 1718 and remained through all the changes was now alone in the mission, with the exception of Abbe Joseph Gagnon, of whose coming we have no specific information, but who at this date was aged and infirm.

From a letter written by Father Mercier to the French governor we learn of the state of the plantation. Father Mercier's letter is as follows:

¹⁴ Diocesan Archives of Belleville.

From Mercier, Priest, Superior V. G., TO THE Marquis de Vadreuil.

April 20, 1743.

I have the honor of writing you this second letter about the land which was given to our mission of the Kaokias or Tamaroas, by Monsieur De Bois, Lieutenant of the King in Louisiana, then commanding in Illinois and Des Ursins, acting as Director of the Royal Company of India, of which gift, I have the honor, sir, to send you herewith a copy made by the Notary of the Illinois. It was because of this concession of the Kaokias in 1731 we bought from the savages the land on which we wished to place any inhabitants who came there. (This grant has 30 acres facing the river bank which passes behind the village of the French and the Kaokias, and is about 10 acres deep.) We gave every one free land. After that we had a water mill built which, for the work alone cost us 4000 francs. There was a lack of water soon after that and we had to have a windmill built which cost us 1000 ecus. (Our mill run by horse power was sufficient for the harvest.) The grain which we get from the mill is not sufficient to pay the miller who was engaged for 4000 pounds of flour per year and to buy the cloth for the mill, which is very dear in this country, and to keep up the repairs which must be made from time to time to said mill.

Last year we only had seventy-five minote of grain. Besides that, Monsieur, we had a bridge built over a little river which is less than half a league from here, so that there might be better communication between the two prairies, which are within the four leagues given to our Mission. Also, Monsieur, we have been obliged to give a considerable amount to the savages so that they will keep at a distance and thus avoid the guarrels which often come up when they are too near the French villages. More than half of these savages have retired to a distance of about three and a half leagues from here (where we have prepared as much ground for them as they needed). They have promised to cultivate this ground, but they have so often failed to keep their promises that we cannot count on them any more for this than for the rest. Our superiors belonging to the Seminary of Foreign Missions of Paris and Quebec, expect us to account to you for the money which we have spent, and which we would not have spent had it not been for the gift of the mission to us. We hope that you will ratify, out of the justice and kindness of your heart, this gift, so that we will not have to worry about this as we were obliged to a few months ago.

I have the honor to be, with my very respectful esteem and consideration, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) Mercier, Priest, Sup. V. G. 15

¹⁵ Ibid.

GOVERNOR VAUDREUIL ANSWERS

A courteous answer was sent by the governor as follows:

"At New Orleans this 14th August 1743, Copy of a letter written to the Reverend Mr. Mercier by Monsieur de Vaudreuil, Governor of Louisiana.

I have received Sir, the letters that you have honored me with bearing date on the 19th, 20th, & 30th May and first June last.

I am very sensitive to the courteous compliments that you were kind enough to pay me and the interest you take in my accession to the government. Please Sir, receive my thanks, remain convinced that you shall find on my person the same desire to please you that you have found in Mr. de Bienville and that I shall take opportunity of every occasion that may present itself to render you any service within my conltrol.

I would have desired to diminish this year to a great extent the quantities of brandies that are generally sent to the Illinois, but the unfortunate tolerance that has been practiced up to this day with the necessity there exists of importing some quantities as Messieurs de Bienville & Salmon have made me understand, has kept me from taking certain measures, which shall surely be put to execution during the coming years. Mr. de Bertel is right to be as severe as possible so that no liquor shall be given to the Indians.

Concerning the ratification of the Concession granted to you during the time of the Company by M. de Boisbriant et des Ursins, you have requested me to obtain for you. We are writing a joint letter to the Count de Maurepas, to get him to procure it for you. There is nothing in my power, no influence that I do not desire to make use of in order to oblige your Reverend Superiors of the Foreign Missions that I left in Paris enjoying perfect health.

With regard to the piece of land you have bought from the Indians in 1731, I do not think you can appropriate it because the sale not being valid you cannot have a title to the place. As for the encroachment that the named Lievre & Capucin wish to make on your land, we Mr. de Salmon and myself have both written to M. M. Bertel and Laloire on this subject. I had given orders, dear Sir, for the shipment of your goods, but I have since learnt that nothing has come from France for you.

I have the honor to be most respectfully, Sir,

Your most humble & obedient servant,

(Signed) VAUDREUIL."18

¹⁶ Ibid.

The following extract from the letter referred to by Governor de Vaudreuil is interesting:

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN IN COMMON BY M. M. DE VAU-DREUIL AND SALMON TO M. M. BERTEL AND SALONE (LALOIRE) IN AUGUST 1743.

"With regard to the four leagues of land that have been granted during the time of the Company of the Indies to the Priests of the Foreign Missions we have verified by their titles that it is a grant in fee simple (en franc aleu simple) and not a fief noble as you have remarqued it yourself, that they are the masters of the land, they can enjoy it themselves, or dispose of it by gift or by sale, by lease or subject to a ground rent, but they cannot draw from the land

seigniorial dues as the Seigneur of a fief might do.

Our attention has been called by a letter from the Reverend M. Mercier priest of the Foreign Missions, that they possess a piece of land, that they pretend to have purchased from the Indians in 1731. The title to this property does not seem well established. However since they are in possession they may be left so. Mr. Mercier says also that having assigned a portion of the same to one LaSource, it has come into the hands of parties named Lievre and Capucin who have wished to increase the extent of their land. As those individuals or others, at their example,—might make encroachments on this land and as it is not desirable that any person should be troubled in what he possesses, you shall oblige us very much by informing us in what this land consists, how much has been paid to the Indians, of what utility it is to the missionaries and if in years to come it might be of any use to the inhabitants when that part of the country is better settled.¹⁷

SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS

For twenty years now the mission with its houses, barns and mills goes on, and apparently flourishes, but history is in the making.

In Europe an anti-Christian spirit arises, which directs its efforts against the great religious organization known as the Company of Jesus, Portugal, France, and Spain, through their Godless ministers, have conducted such an effective campaign against the Jesuits that one after another these European countries outlawed the company and its members.

An equally Godless ministry at New Orleans eagerly follows in the footsteps of the home government of France, and declares the Jesuits anathemae. Agents of the government are sent to the Illinois country to arrest the Jesuits, and sell and destroy their property. The judgment of the council is executed with much brutality, and

¹⁷ Ibid.

Abbe Forget du Verger, now the pastor at Cahokia, looking on assumes that he will be the next victim of this anti-Christian frenzy, takes time by the forelock, sells the Cahokia mission property, and departs for France.

Many references have been made to this alienation of the property and lands of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, and accordingly the actual documents, by means of which the transfer was effected, will be interesting. The deed made by Father Forget du Verger reads as follows:

SALE BY REVEREND FORGET DU VERGER TO J. B. LAGRANGE

"Before the undersigned Notary Royal, at the Illinois and in presence of the undersigned witnesses.

Personally came and appeared the reverend François Forget du Verger, Priest missionary of the Foreign missions, Vicar General of His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec, residing at the Parish of the Holy Family of the Cahokias at the Illinois, acting for and in the name of the Reverend Superior of the Foreign Missions of Paris, who in the said name, has by these presents, acknowledged and confessed to have this day sold, transferred, acquitted, assigned and made over henceforth and forever and promises to warrant against all troubles, debts, dowers, mortgages, evictions, substitutions and other hindrances generally whatsoever to Mr. Jean Baptiste Lagrange, merchant, trader, residing at the Illinois, hereunto present, stipulating and accepting for himself, his heirs and assigns that is to say: A house built of stone, comprising several rooms and also several other buildings such as barns, stables, cattle, sheds, huts, mills and generally all the buildings attached to the said house and also the land attached thereto divided in a yard, garden, orchard planted with fruit trees, which said land contains about three hundred and fifty feet in width by nine hundred in depth, the whole situated in the Parish of the Holy Family of the Caokias and also a water power mill for grinding wheat, and a saw mill, with all its utensils and machinery, situate on the small river of the Caokias, also a farm of four acres (arpents) in width situate in the territory to the Caokias, from the ditch to the Coast, bounded on one side to Mr. Clermont, on the other side to one named Darion, as the whole is now standing in all its dependencies and which the said Mr. Lagrange declares to know well for having seen them and visited them and of which he declares himself satisfied, without any reserve whatsoever on the part of the said Reverend Mr. Forget for the said mission to whom the whole belonged to as having been heretofore conceded by Her Majesty and was settled by the reverend missionaries who had heretofore resided there, the whole without being subject to any charges, rents, dues up to this day, to have and to hold and dispose of the same as property belonging to the said Mr. Lagrange, his heirs and assigns, the enjoyment to Commence from this day, this present sale is thus made for and in consideration of the sum of twelve thousand five hundred pounds that the said Mr. Lagrange promises and obliges himself to deliver and pay to the reverend Mr. Forget du Verger, upon the order of the reverend Superior of the said Foreign Missions in France, viz., the sum of two thousand pounds in one year from the date of these presents, two thousand pounds one year after, two thousand pounds one year after and two thousand and five hundred pounds the sixth year, for all delay, and subject to all costs, interests and damages, to the payment of the said sum of twelve thousand five hundred pounds the said Mr. Lagrange has obliged, incumbered and mortgaged all his property moveable and immoveable present and future and the property herein above sold shall remain mortgaged and encumbered by privilege until full payment, in consideration whereof the said Reverend Mr. Forget for and in the name of the said Missions has given up and devested himself of all the property sold for and in favor of the said Mr. Lagrange, his heirs and assigns, wishing him to be seized thereof and put in possession by all whom it may appertain constituting for his attorney the bearer of these presents to whom he gives full power to act, and for the execution of these presents, the parties have elected their domiciles at their above declared residences where they agree that all legal documents may be served upon them. For thus was agreed and stipulated. Promissing, etc., obliging, etc., renouncing, etc. Done and passed at the Illinois in the office in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-three, the fifth day of November, in presence of Mr. de Neyon de Villiere, Major, Commanding for the King in the Country of the Illinois and Mr. de Verger, Infantry Officer, witnesses called to these presents who with the parties and the undersigned Notary have signed these presents after due reading thereof (signed) Forget du Verger P. M., Vic General, Layssard Lagrange, Neyon de Villiere, de Verger file and the undersigned Notary who has given a copy of these presents for first time (Signed) Labussiere, Notary.

Collated in the original to be deposited in the offices of the Clerk of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana, by us undersigned clerk of the said Council at New Orleans this twenty-third

day of January, seventeen hundred and sixty-four.

(Signed) GAVIE, Notary and his paraph."18

At the same time Father du Verger sold the slaves or servants, more properly speaking, belonging to the estate. The document by which this transfer was made reads as follows:

Sales of Slaves by Rev. Forget du Verger to M. M. Lagrange and Laysard

"Before the undersigned Notary Royal at the Illinois and in presence of the hereinafter named witnesses, personally came and appeared the Reverend Jacques Francois Forget de Verger, Priest missionary of the foreign missions, Vicar General of His Lordship

¹⁸ Ibid.

the Bishop of Quebec, residing at the Parish of the Holy Family of the Kaokias at the Illinois, who did by these presents acknowledge and confess to have this day sold, assigned, transferred and made over, henceforth and for ever and by these presents promises to warrant from all troubles, debts, dowers, mortgages, incumbrances, substitutions and revendications generally whatsoever to M. M. Etienne Mara Laysard and Jean Baptiste Lagrange, merchants now residing at the Illinois, partners for the purpose of the present sale hereunto present and accepting, purchasers for themselves, their heirs and assigns, that is to say: the quantity of twelve black slaves belonging to the mission of the Holy Family of the Caokias, which said slaves are called as follows, viz.: A negro named Lacroix and Therese, his wife, a negro named Louis and Marie, his wife, a negro named Dominic and Rose, his wife, Paul their son, Agathe their daughter, Ambroise their son, Razalie and Sophie their daughters, a negro named Vincent, which said slaves the said Messrs. Lagrange and Layssard, partners as aforesaid have declared to know well for having seen received the same, and of which they declare themselves contented, without any reserve on the part of the said Mr. Forget, the vender acting for and in the name of the Superior of the Foreign Mission whom the said slaves belong to as having been purchased by the said Mission for good and valid Consideration. This present sale is thus made for the price and sum of twenty thousand pounds which the said Messrs. Layssard and Lagrange, partners as aforesaid promise and oblige themselves jointly and severally one for the other to pay and deliver in France to the order of the said Superior of the Foreign Missions at the time within the period hereinafter mentioned that is to say the sum of three thousand five hundred pounds in one year from the date of these presents, three thousand five hundred pounds, one year after, three thousand five hundred pounds one year after, three thousand pounds one year after and three thousand pounds the sixth year, making in all six years and forming a sum of twenty thousand pounds to be paid without any further delay under penalty of losses damages and interests. In consequence of which the said Mr. Forget du Verger acting for the said mission, has given up the said slaves herein before sold for the advantage of the said Layssard and Lagrange, willing the same to dispose of the said slaves as property to them belonging and for securing payment of the said sum of twenty thousand pounds, the said Messrs. Layssard and Lagrange have obliged bound and hypothecated all and every their property movable and immoveable actually belonging or that may belong to them hereafter, as also that said slaves who are bound and mortgaged by privilege until full payment, the first obligation not to nullify the second. And for the execution of these presents the parties have elected their domiciles at their residences herein before declared where they consent that all legal notification be made to them on account of these presents, even for paying all costs and executions.

For it was thus agreed between the parties, Promissing, etc., obliging, etc., Renouncing, etc.

Done and passed at the Illinois in the Office, in the year seventeen hundred and sixty three, the fifth day of November in presence of Mr. de Neyon de Villiere, major Commanding for the King in the Country of the Illinois and of Mr. De Verger, officer of Infantry witnesses residing at the Illinois, who have with the said parties and the undersigned Notary signed these presents after due reading thereof signed on the original, 'Forget du Verger, P. M. Vic. General,' 'Layssard,' 'Lagrange,' 'Neyon de Villiere,' 'de Verger Junr and the undersigned Notary who has given a first copy of the same signed as a foresaid. Thus signed Labuviere 'Notary Collated on the original to be deposited in the office of the Clerk of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana by us undersigned Clerk of the said Council at New Orleans the twenty third day of January, Seventeen hundred and sixty-four.

(Signed) LARIE, Notary and his paraph."19

It is to be noted that the Commandant of the Illinois, De Villiers, was cognizant of the sale by Father du Verger; indeed, it is stated that he entertained fears similar to those which affected Father du Verger and, in a measure at least, was in accord with Father du Verger about selling the property.

His successor, De Volsey, whoever he may have been, after investigation, entertained quite a different view, and wrote a letter to some one, (this writer is not clear as to whom the letter was written), taking the opposite view. De Volsey's letter is as follows:

Letter of M. De Volsey, Commandant at Kaokias, New Orleans, 25, January 1764

"Sir:—Without going into minute details, allow me to assure of my profound respect, and to inform you that in my quality of commandant the village of the Kaokias, in the country of the Illinois, I have received special power from the inhabitants of the Parish to present their petition to the judge of Illinois, exposing the conduct of the Rev. Mr. Forget, pastor of this Parish, who as you will see has not been of the most exemplary, his haughtiness in his way of acting has exasperated everybody, his scandalous conduct carried beyond all endurance has filled the measure of all his iniquities.

He has not remained satisfied with all this, but he has acted like a man having the most despotic powers. He has bartered all the properties, among others the properties of the parsonage the land of which has been granted by the king to provide for the wants of the curate of the Parish in consequence of this the inhabitants to the amount of over sixty important families had built on this land a comfortable and spacious building. Mr. Forget has taken on himself to effectuate the sale of this property and to attain his ends he has shut the mouth of Father Luc a Recollec (Recollect) by making him

¹⁹ Thid.

present of two slaves belonging to the mission one of which the latter has sold.

Finally Sir, of the thirty one black and red slaves, Mr. Forget has thought fit in a wantonness manner to make a present of part of them and to set the others free, the result of this transaction has been the sale of twelve slaves only.

The respect we owe the memory of the reverend M. M. Mercier and Laurent shall always be a source of regret to us all and to me in particular.

I believe Sir, that it will not be out of place that I should have the honor to state to you that at the death of the Rev. Mr. Laurent the mission of this Parish was worth at least four hundred thousand pounds. This statement that can be proved by a number of honest people here, shall be the best proof that I am not actuated by a spirit of partiality and a thirst for revenge, but in my quality as Commandant I am held to support the representations of the people of the place, whose petition I have forwarded to Mr. Dabbadie our Governor at New Orleans, of which petition I subjoin a copy, as also the Power of Attorney, given to me, which can but produce a good effect if you will only give this matter one moment of your attention.

I am persuaded that Mr. Dabbadie will have the honor of writing to you all the circumstances of the case inasmuch as the matter interests you and the reputation of your missionaries.

There only remains now to assure you that nobody more than we can be with a more profound respect,

Your obedient servant, (signed) 'DE VOLSEY'

At New Orleans, This 25th Jan. 1764. ''20

After Father du Verger left Cahokia the Quebec Seminary was without a representative in the Illinois Country, and although the inhabitants had spurred on the commandant and themselves made representations about the alienation of the property, the condition remained quite unsatisfactory.

Now, however, the chances of correct information and effective action were better. It will be remembered that though the council at New Orleans had issued a decree of banishment against all the Jesuits, yet when all had been brought to New Orleans for embarkation to France the council finally yielded to the entreaties of both the white inhabitants and the Indians to permit Father Sebastien Louis Meurin to remain and return to the Illinois missions. As soon, therefore, as the Superior of the Quebec Seminary learned that Father Meurin was back in the Illinois missions, he wrote him concerning the unlawful disposition of the Cahokia Church property

²⁰ Ibid.

by Father du Verger, and after some investigation Father Meurin sent the Superior a detailed account in a letter as follows:

Letter Addressed to Mr. Bonet of the Quebec Seminary at the Kas This 11th June, 1768

"Sir: I received your letter dated the 3rd May, 1768. Since that date I have not lost sight of your interests at the Kaokias. I induced the inhabitants to present a Petition to Mr. Read, Lieutenant Colonel Commanding at the Illinois, to present the petition in your name and in theirs. He refused to receive it in writing, saying verbally, 1st That you were wrong to intrust your property to a person capable of doing you injury, 2nd That the French Commandant has allowed and approved that sale, 3rd That the property had already passed in the hands of third parties, that the Country could not be upset on your account, and finally that he did not meddle with Church business.

The petition set forth that Mr. Forget, erroneously persuaded by the French Commandant that the English would pillage both priests and inhabitants and take possession of their wealth, had sold the whole as cheap as dirt in order to carry all he could rather than

leave it to the English.

That this property having been given by the French Kings to the Quebec Seminary and increased in value by the said Seminary for the maintenance of their missionaries at the Kaokias, Mr. Forget could not sell the same without a power of Attorney from the Gentle-

men of the Quebec Seminary.

That the pretended Power of Attorney of the Seminary of Foreign Mission of Paris was invented, and had it been real it would equally be null as long as the Quebec Seminary existed because it is to the Quebec Seminary alone that the property was given, and the Seminary alone has ameliorated it and enhanced its value. That the said property, has never been paid for nor discharged and consequently remains at least mortgaged in favor of the said Quebec Seminary.

That the said Mr. Lagrange, the first purchaser having died and Insolvent the said property should return to its original owners.

That Mr. Jautard second purchaser by a turn of the Cards has no more right of possession than the first and should be condemned to restore the property in the state in which it was at the time of the first sale.

About a month ago Mr. Jautard was desirous of selling the property to His Majesty's Commissary in the Country of the Illinois. The bargain was very near being settled. I went to make an opposition to the sale and put forth the petition of the inhabitants and your letter of instructions, to Mr. Forbes interim Commandant since the removal of Mr. Reed. Though possessing more pleasant manners, he at first refused to answer but he promised as also the Commissioner that the said property would not be sold until further orders from General Gage to whom you may make your representations.

The property is not worth one eighth of its value at the time of the first sale. Lagrange and Jautard have since sold the staves and cattle, the fences and buildings are wrecked, there only remains the building lots, a stone house of sixty and some odd feet built by Mr. Forget, the roofing of which is not yet finished, he did not cease building until the day of the sale (proof that he had no power of attorney even from Paris whence no news could be received for nearly one year). Accordingly the Notary assured me that Mr. Forget had only told him that he had a power and that the commandant had obliged him to write down that it existed. The largest trees of the orchard are still standing and are left to defend themselves against the cattle and the land. Mr. Jautard as insolvent as Lagrange was has made a bankruptcy and has left a fugitive from justice, to go we are told to Canada or among the tribes in the Upper Mississippi. If he goes to Quebec you can get him arrested, oblige him to render an account of your contracts, slaves, cattle of the deteriorations of the fences, buildings, etc., of the usufruct, etc. In all this I wish you great success, and earnestly recommend myself to your fervent prayers and your offerings of holy mass, in union of which I have the honor to be with the most profound respect,

Sir

Your most humble & obedient servant, (Signed) S. L. Meurin, S. J.''21

Being now fairly well informed as to all the facts the Seminary authorities were ready to act, and taking advantage of a change which was about to be effected with reference to the Illinois missions, by which Rev. Pierre Gibault was to be sent by the Bishop of Quebec to the missions, the Superior of the Seminary advised Father Gibault of the situation, and gave him a power of attorney to deal with the whole matter. This is a most interesting document, especially in view of the frequent references to it to be found in historical works. It reads as follows:

POWER OF ATTORNEY, SEMINARY TO GIBAULT

"Before the undersigned Notaries Royal, residing at Quebec.
Personally came and appeared the reverend Urbain Bonet, Priest Superior of the Quebec Seminary, Sebastien Columban Pressart, Proctor, Mathurin Jacran, Henri Francois Grave and Francois Hubert, Directors of the said Seminary, who did and do hereby declare, that being in the impossibility of sending a missionary from the said Seminary to attend the Spiritual wants of the Parishioners of the Parish of the Holy Family of the Kaokias and being however desirous of doing everything to keep up the said mission and to put

²¹ Ibid. It is to be noted that between the time of the sale by Father Du Verger and the writing of Father Meurin's letter the government had undergone a change. The British had come into control.

the said Parish in possession of the property thereunto belonging which the Reverend Mr. Forget has sold without being authorized thereto. For that purpose, they have by these presents, made, nominated, established and constituted and do in fact nominate, establish and constitute for their General and special attorney, the reverend Pierre Gibault, Priest of the Diocese of Quebec sent by His Illustrous Excellency the Right Reverend Jean Oliver Briand, Bishop of Quebec, as missionary of the said Parish of the Holy Family of the Kaokias, to whom, in the name of the said Seminary, they give power to administer, govern and manage all the properties belonging to the said Mission to acquaint himself with the said properties to get an account rendered of the said properties by all whom it may concern; to take all legal proceedings if necessary jointly with the deputies or representatives of the said mission to obtain the cancellations of all deeds of sale or alienations of all the immoveable property belonging to the asid mission, that might have been made by the hereinbefore named reverend Mr. Forget, without being authorized thereto without any right whatsoever and without even having a power of Attorney from the said Quebec Seminary, to whom alone the ownership of the said property belongs as being a dependency of the said Seminary who has disbursed on the said property over forty thousand pounds for the settlement of the said mission and for the maintenance and expenses of the missionaries that have been sent there since the year sixteen hundred and ninety ight, and who received by public documents from His Lordship de Saint Valier bishop of Quebec the care of the said mission.

The appearers give also full power to their said Constituted attorney to recover and receive from whom it may appertain the sums of money paid or that remain to be paid on the sale of the negroes and moveable effects belonging to the said mission, to cause an account to be rendered by whom it may appertain of the issues and revenues belonging to the said mission of which the parties so rendering an account might have enjoyed, to cause the same parties to render an account of all such goods they might have alienated or sold, to settle and audit the said accounts, to receive the balance still due thereon, to give valid discharges and acquittances the said Constituents declaring that the landed property and sums of money growing out of the sale of the negroes and other moveable effects shall remain for the benefit of the said mission, and be employed by the Constituted Attorney as also by the inhabitants of the said Mission in the manner that they will judge the most advantageous and forever for the benefit and good of the said mission but under the authority nevertheless and with the consent of His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec who has signed these presents; the appearers willing that the landed property belonging to the said mission and still there be not sold nor alienated by whomsoever but that the issues and revenues only be collected for the maintenance of the said mission without dilapidating any part thereof, and whereas the reverend Gentlemen of the Seminary do not intend receiving any profit from the sums of money collected on the landed property or the

moveables of the said mission, but that on the contrary that they desire that the said sums of money be made use of for the restoration of the said mission, the maintenance of the missionaries who will be sent there and in the surrounding country either by His Lordship the Bishop or by the reverend Gentlemen of the Seminary, they therefore declare that they do not bind themselves to make any advance of money for the maintenance of the mission, or for law costs or otherwise. And in the event of any difficulties arising in and about the affairs of the said mission, they give to the said Mr. Gibault and the said Parishioners power to take out all suits before all courts of justice, to oppose, to elect domicile, to procure all judgments, to put the same to execution by all legal and reasonable means, to appoint arbitrators to appeal from or submit to their judgment, to name attornies, to revoke them or substitute others in their places, to pay all costs and make all disbursements in the name of the said Parish of the Holy Family, and Generally to make for the good and benefit of the said mission all and every the things the constituents might or could do if they were personally present, promising to ratify everything, wishing and willing that the present Power of Attorney be not revoked by lapse of time and that it remain valid until it be expressly revoked and this on account of the great distances, obliging, etc. Renouncing, etc.

Done and passed at Quebec at the Seminary in the year seventeen hundred and sixty eight the fourteenth day of May in the foremoon and His Excellency and the said Constituents have signed after due reading thereof, thus signed on the original recorded in the office of Mr. Panet the undersigned Notary 'J. Ol. Eveque de Quebec,' 'Bonet Priest Superior,' 'Jacran Ptre.' 'Pressart Ptre' 'Grave Ptre' 'Hubert Ptre' Sanguinet Notary and we undersigned notary.'

True copy conforms to the original found in the minutes of the late Mr. J. C. Panet, Notary for that part of Canada heretofort called Lower Canada, deposited among the Archives of this District, Compared and collated by us the undersigned keepers of the same and Prothonotaries of the Superior Court of Lower Canada at Quebec this fourteenth day of September eighteen hundred and fifty seven.

(Signed) 'Burroughs S. Fiset,' P. S. Cr.²²

At or about the same time the authorities of the Seminary addressed a petition to the commandant of the Illinois country, Col. John Reed, as follows:

PETITION OF QUEBEC SEMINARY TO ILLINOIS COMMANDER

"To His Excellency

The Superior and Directors of the Quebec Seminary have the honor to expose to you that Mr. Forget one of their colleagues, sent

²² Diocesan Archives, Belleville.

by the said Seminary in 1753 at the Tamarois to Officiate with the reverend M. M. Laurent and Gagnon at the Mission of the Holy Family of Kaokias, who after the death of the two last named missionaries, returned to France in 1763, had, before leaving bargained and sold all the property moveable and immoveable, to the exception of a small fief of four leagues in superficies for which no deed of sales appears to have been executed, all this property belonging to the said mission.

These properties are the following: a stone house and other buildings, a plot of land divided into a yard, garden and orchard measuring three hundred and fifty feet in width by nine hundred feet in length, the whole situate at the Parish of the Holy Family of Cahokia a flour and saw mill moved by water power with all its machinery and utensils situate on the small River of the Kaokias. and finally a farm of four acres (Arpents) in breadth, situate in the territory of the Kaokias, the whole sold to Mr. J. B. Lagrange, merchant for the sum of twelve thousand five hundred pounds as appears by deed bearing date the fifth of November 1763, passed before Buissiere, Notary at the Illinois; and by another deed bearing the same date, passed before the same Notary, the same party had sold to the same Mr. Lagrange and to Peter Stephen Marafiet Laissart twelve black slaves belonging to the said Mission for the sum of twenty thousand pounds, which said sums according to the tenor of the said two deeds were to be paid at different periods to the order of the Reverend Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions of

Whereupon we beg Your Excellency to observe: 1st, that Mr. Forget could not bargain and sell the property of the mission having no power of Attorney neither General nor special to that effect, 2nd that the purchasers have not yet paid anything on account, 3rd that the Seminary of Paris in whose name the sale has been made has not and never pretended to have any rights on the property of the said mission, also that Mr. Forget had no power of attorney from the Seminary of Paris, 4th that the Quebec Seminary alone has the right to claim those properties because it has always incurred the expense of sending Missionaries since the permission granted by authentic documents in 1698 by His Lordship de St. Valier, Bishop of Quebec, and that the settlement of this mission has been made at the expense of the Seminary which added together exceed a sum of forty thousand pounds, which we are in a position to prove.

Due consideration being given to these facts, we claim the influence of your Excellency on the Governor in whose District is situate this mission of the Kaokias in order to apply to his spirit of equity and justice to annul the sale of the immoveable property made by Mr. Forget to Mr. Lagrange, and that the sum of twenty thousand pounds price of sale of twelve black slaves be paid over to the missionaries bearers of our full Power of Attorney which will be sent as soon as possible to re-establish this mission in Conformity to the

eager solicitation and desires of the inhabitants of the place who find themselves without spiritual instruction and help.

It is the favor which your most humble servants expect."23

FATHER GIBAULT'S USE OF THE POWER OF ATTORNEY

It appears that Father Gibault was later called upon to make use of his power of attorney. One Dame Marie Barbe Harlin, a widow, perhaps in the possession of some of the Seminary property, granted a parcel to a Mr. Poirier and his wife by a writing as follows:

"Before the Notary Public of Caokias and the witnesses hereinafter named, were present Dame Marie Barbe Harlin widow of the late Pierre Dumary (?) which said Dame has acknowledged and confessed to have sold, assigned, transferred and made over with promise of warranty from all troubles, debts, mortgages, evictions, alienations, gifts, dowers and other incumbrances generally whatever to Mr. Poirier and to Dame Joseph Kelle his wife hereunto present and accepting, all the buildings erected on the town lot conceded to them by Mr. Chez the Commandant without producing any titles to the property to obtain which titles the said Mr. Poirier shall make all his efforts with the reverend Mr. Gibault, missionary and Vicar General to obtain a title of concession the said buildings being thus sold for the price and sum of sixty pounds currency in furs payable in the course of the month of May of the next year this sum being for the said buildings only. Executed at Caokias the eighteenth day of August seventeen hundred and seventy seven, in the presence of Mr. Jean Baptiste Mercier, witness who has signed with the said Vendor, and the said Notary on the original of these presents; the said purchaser has made his Cross in the presence of the said Notary after due reading hereof according to the requirements of the ordinance:

(Signed) 'J. Bte. Senet, Notary Public. Collated and examined by the undersigned Notaries Public at Quebec on a certified copy handed to them and immediately returned. Done at Quebec the sixteenth day of August seventeen hundred and eighty four.

(Signed) BERTHELOT (Signed) A. PANET.²⁴ BERTHELOT DARTIGNY

Agreeable to the arrangement for transfer Father Gibault approved the concession, sent it on to the Seminary, where it was approved by the authorities there. This approbation reads as follows:

"I the undersigned Priest Vicar General of His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec fiscal proctor of the Seigneurs of Kaokias, do hereby certify to have conceded and do hereby concede a town lot

²³ Ibid. This no doubt, is the petition referred to by Father Meurin.

²⁴ Diocesan Archives, Belleville.

of one hundred and fifty feet in front by one hundred and fifty feet in width bounded on one side by the street, on the two others by the Domaine on the fourth side by Jacques Lagrange to Joseph Poirier, to have and to hold the same in full property but however subject to acqnowledgement, in testimony whereof I have signed at Kaokias this fifteenth May 1778.

(Signed) P. GIBAULT, Ptre. V. G. F. P.

We Directors Superior and Proctor of the Quebec Seminary, do hereby ratify and confirm in as much as the same may be required, the concession hereinabove made by Mr. Gibault subject to the Condition that the possessor shall pay to the original owners of the soil or their representatives by way of acknowledgement, the ground rent that shall be determined by the authorities of the place. Quebec 16th August 1784.

(Signed) Bedard Pst. of the Seminary Grave "Proctor.

Collated and examined by the undersigned Notaries Public at Quebec and there residing on the original to them presented and immediately returned. Done at Quebec the sixteenth day of August seventeen hundred and eighty four. Thus signed 'A. Panet and Berthelot Dartigny' Notaries.

Deposited among the Notarial minutes of Berthelot Dartigny one of the aforesaid and undersigned notaries by the reverend Henry Francis Grave, priest, Director and proctor of the Quebec Seminary, in order to give to him and to whom it may appertain all copies required, and he has signed.

Done in Quebec at the said Seminary in the year seventeen hundred and eighty four, the sixteenth day of November in the afternoon, after due reading thereof. Thus signed on the minute of these presents remaining in the office of the undersigned Notary 'Grave Pst Proct. of Quebec Seminary' 'A. Panet' Notary and we undersigned Notary.

(Signed) BERTHELOT DARTIGNY."25

NEW CHURCH REGIME

Another change was effected and a new spiritual leader arrives on the scene, Rev. Paul de St. Pierre, sent to the Illinois country by the Prefect Apostolic of the new Nation, the United States, Rev. John Carroll. Upon Father de St. Pierre's taking charge at Cahokia Father Gibault transferred to him his power of attorney in connection with the Cahokia mission property; and he takes up the matter of the recovery of the property with vigor and energy. What was done in this respect is graphically described in a letter written by the inhabitants of Cahokia to the Bishop of Quebec, as follows:

²⁵ Illinois Historical Collections.

INHABITANTS OF CAHOKIA TO BISHOP OF QUEBEC

"Sir :-

The inhabitants composing the parish of the Holy Family of the Cahos believe it their duty to inform you of the attempts made by Mr. Joutard who has taken up his residence in Montreal in order to dispost of the property of the Mission during the year 1785 on the 19th of May he gave a power of Attorney to Mr. Augustin Dubuque, traveling merchant from Montreal in order to dispose of what was still existing of the properties of the said mission which consists of the four walls of a stone house with three hundred feet of land in width by nine hundred in length and three acres (arpents) of land in width and measuring the same depth as the other farms of the other inhabitants; this attorney has caused these properties to be sold by his own authority with the assistance of a bailiff after three publications we did not make any opposition to the sale having at the time no knowledge of the Power of Attorney that the Reverend Gentlemen Superiors of the Chapter authorized by His Lorship the Bishop had sent to the Reverend Mr. Gibault passed before Mtre. Panet and Sanguinet, Notaries at Quebec the 14th May 1768 by Mr. De St. Pierre our Parish Priest, but after the auction only. Mr. de St. Pierre having only come to our Parish after that time, this, Mr. de St. Pierre being the person to whom Mr. Gibault has transferred his powers concerning the mission of Cahos. By the reading of this Power of Attorney we have discovered that all the sales made by the reverend Mr. Forget Vicar General of His Lordship were null & void having never been authorized by the Chapter and that you intended that all the properties of the mission should remain in the possession of the missionaries that you would choose to send and of the inhabitants residing in the parish to be held and kept up perpetually for the said mission and Parish, the revenues of the same to be made use of for their maintenance and that of the missionary, we making the necessary expenses and repairs to put them in good order and condition, the Chapter having no intention of incurring any liabilities, it is in consequence of this that we have judicially canceled and annulled all the sales made by Mr. Forget and others that have followed, and canceled also all the documents that the bearer of Mr. Jautard's Power of Attorney had caused to be made on the occasion of the auction sale, of the house and land, this Mr. Dubuque the Attorney of Jautard had become the purchaser, having put it up himself at a £1,000, at which price it remained no person wishing to outbid, he became at the same time the purchaser of the farms for about three hundred pounds including a few effects such as doors, windows, sashes and boards which the inhabitants had saved from the inclemency of the weather and pillage; Of these properties we have now retaken possession, we have commenced by building a Presbytery to lodge our Pastor which has cost us nearly five thousand pounds, the stone house having been completely wrecked by the British and American troops who took up their quarters there, those troops having caused the dilapidations which generally accompany their stay anywhere, the weather during the time the house was

inhabited did the rest, so that in reality there only remains four walls badly in want of repairs, without any covering or top, no flooring, the chimneys upset, no fences on the land, the orchard completely destroyed without any vestige of there ever having been one, all the other buildings destroyed even to the well that has been erammed full of stones and earth.

We have decided to make use of the walls of the house for our new church the old church having fallen to pieces and being thus

compelled to have mass in a private house we have rented.

We have commenced to work on our projected church, which will cost over fifteen or sixteen thousand pounds. The mission has none of the slaves or cattle of any sort, Mr. Forget having sold the whole and carried away with him whatever monies he could collect. The three acres (arpents) of land being a burden to the missions on account of the expenses connected with their cultivation and maintenance, we have thought over the matter with the reverend Mr. St. Pierre and have decided to concede them subject to a rent and after three publications they only reached at auction the small sum from sixteen to eighteen pounds of annual rent per acre and the lots of one hundred and fifty feet square which could not meet their current expenses fetched from 20 to six of annual rent per acre also;—as for the other property such as slaves; mills and cattle, they have all been wasted and diverted from their destination at the departure of Mr. Forget by sale, liberty granted or by gift of the cattle, so that none of those articles are to be found at the mission. There are still some negroe families on the part of the property under Spanish domination which are considerable in value, they are domiciled in part at St. Lewis of Illinois and in part at New Orleans they are those whom Mr. Forget has set at liberty or that he has sold without being authorized, there are even some here in the Parish of Cahos, we have claimed from the Commander in Chief those settled in the Spanish part of the Country, but he has refused to grant our request. As this is a matter where the Government is concerned and that the Chapter is interested therein we have had no success and have come to the decision of remaining silent inasmuch as the Government is very despotic, contenting ourselves with praying you, Gentlemen, to take the matter in hand to have those negroes which have attained a great value by the increase of their families reinstated in possession of the mission. Before seeing the contents of the reverend Mr. Gibault's Power of Attorney, we were all in the uncertainty whether the sales made by Mr. Forget were valid or not. We feared to make useless attempts and to incur needless expenses. This power of attorney which was handed over to us has reassured us and opened our eyes and hereafter we shall work and do everything in our power towards the restoration of our Mission.

We beg of you Gentlemen to use your influence with the Bishop and his Chapter to obtain the authorization and ratification anew of the Conditions inserted in the said Power of Attorney and to confirm the assignment of the Mission and its dependencies you have made to us jointly with any missionary you may select to look after the

Parish.

We cannot praise too much our present pastor and missionary the reverend Mr. de St. Pierre; he has all the Capacity, zeal and charity to procure the edification and instruction of the ranthful and to practice his ecclesiastical duties.

We are anxious to keep him and beg of you to accept him and get him accepted by His Lordship so that he may give him the necessary powers for our mission.

If you Sir come across any documents or ancient title deeds concerning our mission and Seigniory (Seigneurie) of the Cahos which measures four square leagues we earnestly beg you to send them to us so as to secure us full possession now for fear of some trouble hereafter.

Since a year, a Mr. de la Valiniere former pastor of the Parish of 'The Assumption 'and other places has arrived here. He gives himself as being sent by the Apostolie Father Prefect of Philadelphia. He has assumed the title of Vicar General of all the districts to the North of the River Coyo called Belleriviere, along the Mississippi, Wabash, Mianns, etc., by the letter he has written to us he gives himself 'as the messenger of God and of the Bishop of Quebec who has given us his powers if however he had any such powers here, but especially of the 'Apostolic Prefect who has received from the Pope the Administration of this country, etc., for the spiritual government of souls.'

He could not show us any regular Commission or order.

We refused to recognize him in his aforesaid quality, knowing very well the disturbances he created in his Parish in Canada. Sir it is unheard of to tell you the scandals and disturbances this man is creating in the Parish of the Kas twenty leagues hence where he fulfills the functions of Pastor and assumes the title of Vicar General. He has incurred the wrath and contempt of the people on both the Spanish and American sides of the river so much so that the reverend Father Bernard a very pious French monk, who officiates on the Spanish territory could not keep his reproaches to himself declaring that he dishonored the ecclesiastical robe in this country. This same Mr. de la Valiniere has even spoken very bolding in a letter written to the Kas to a Mr. Lacroix inhabitant of the Parish where he officiated in Canada and who happens to be here and is on the eve of returning to Canada, in which he inquires from this Gentleman if the Bishop of Quebec and the reverend Mr. de Mongolfier, his two most cruel enemies are dead, and if their persecutions are finished, etc. By his letters written to us he has done everything in his power to put us in bad terms with Mr. de St. Pierre these letters we have in our possession and are made up with falsehoods and calamnies of the worst kind to such an extent that we were forced to write to him not to trouble our peace any longer that we would return him his letters without reading them and that we were determined not to receive him in our Parish as Vicar General. The people belonging to a different creed from ours and of both sides of the river have the greatest contempt for him his natural disposition t oanger and his discourses which as well as his letters where he gives vent to his wrath and excommuniactions have exceeded the limits of decency without speaking of his thirst for money and have brought on him forever the general odium of all the people here. Should his ambition push him to ask the Bishop the position of Vicar General for this country, we beg of you to oppose his attempts, telling His Lordship how much the people would be scandalized, and that the noisy propensities of this man are more made to destroy religion than to keep it up.

We have the honor to be with the most profound respect at the

Cahos 6th June 1787.

Sir

Your most humble and obedient servants The deputies of the inhabitants and Church wardens of the Church mission of the Holy Family of the Cahos at the Illinois.

(Signed) C. H. DUCHARNE L. CHATEL BTE.
B. DUBUC J. B. LACROIX
F. SAUCIER DUNAIX
A. GIRARDIN H. BIRON.''26

In the course of a couple of months a reply is received which settles several doubtful points concerning church interests in the Illinois country. This document reads as follows:

"Quebec 6th August 1789.

To M. M. Ducharme, Dubu— Saucier, Girardin, Chatel, Dumai, Lacroix, Brion, Inhabitants and Church wardens of the Holy Family of Cahos at the Illinois.

Gentlemen:-

Two months have elapsed from the time when the Superiors and Directors of the Quebec Seminary founders and ancient proprietors of the Mission of the Kaokias at the Illinois received a letter bearing date the 6th June 1787 signed as in the above address, of which no doubt you have kept a copy. The difficulty of sending you an answer has kept us from doing so up to this day, because many letters we had previously sent in your direction have been intercepted or at

least appear not to have reached you.

Without proving the violence you have made use of to enter in possession of the property belonging to the Mission of the Cahos, I am prepared to say that it is true that in 1768 the said Seminary, to whom belonged the Mission of the Kaokias took the determination, for want of priests, to abandon the care of it to His Lordship Jean Ol. Briand titular Bishop, and that the said Seminary gave a Power of Attorney to Mr. Gibault, missionary, sent by the said Lord Bishop in order to legally set aside with the aid of the inhabitants of the said Mission of the Kaokias all sales and alienations made by the said Mr. Forget last missionary sent by the said Quebec Seminary, of all the properties of the said mission moveable and immoveable, to be made use of hereafter for the costs and maintenance of the missionaries, because the said Mr. Forget was in no ways authorized to make

²⁶ Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V, p. 561.

this alienation. This Power of Attorney is not to be found at the Seminary, but you have it, keep it carefully, but remember that this surrender was only made under the express condition, 1st, that the Seminary would not pay any cost for recovery nor any disbursements whatsoever; 2nd, that the Seminary should in no way be held in the

future to provide a pastor for the parish.

The Seminary has not altered its decision, but, Gentlemen, to manage this affair properly and make a final settlement a deed executed before Notary is required by which the ownership of the property hereinabove mentioned would be transferred to the Church (fabrique) of your parish, with this deed we would give up to you all the titles and documents referring to this property, to attain this object we do not see any other way than the sending ad hoc of some intelligent person chosen amongst yourselves who whilst transacting some other business in Canada would also terminate that one. We shall not give up those precious documents without making some legal ararngement.

As for what concerns the negroes belonging heretofore to the mission we believe they have acquired their liberty and we do not enter in your views to force them back into slavery, Providence has given them that precious liberty and thanks be to God we shall not

consent that it be taken from them.

You suppose in your letter that the chapter or the Bishop of Quebec had some right of ownership in the temporalities of this mission, you are mistaken, they belong entirely to the seminary of

Foreign missions of Quebec alone.

Again you are under the impression that your Parish of the Holy Family is yet for spiritual purposes under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec; I beg to state that the Holy See has put it under the jurisdiction of the Apostolical Prefect of the United States and that the Bishop of Quebec has made no objection, because your country is no more under British domination.

Such is the actual state of affairs, shall they be altered? I do not believe it, but I would not like to affirm it positively. It is for that reason that I d onot answer the reverend Mr. St. Pierre, it is to the

Apostolic Prefect that he must apply for his jurisdiction.

I repeat it again, it is very necessary that some one amongst you should come to Quebec, to receive the necessary instructions and terminate with us an affair which you should consider as very important to your Parish and that can tend to make it very flourishing. I am with much consideration

Gentlemen

Your most humble and obedient servant.

(Signed) Grave, Superior of the
Seminary of Foreign Missions of Quebec.'27

This letter virtually ends the connection of the diocese of Quebec and of the Seminary of Quebec with Church interests in and about Cahokia.

²⁷ Diocesan Archives, Belleville.

THE FOUR LEAGUE SQUARE TRACT NOT INVOLVED IN CONTROVERSY

The foregoing documents clear up many apparent misconceptions. The most important information to be derived from them is that only the property covered by the first grant was involved, and in addition, of course, the slaves.

The four league square tract included in the second grant was not sold or attempted to be sold by Father du Verger, but remained undisturbed.

Accordingly, whatever effect the Du Verger transactions had upon any of the rest of the mission property, it had no connection whatever with the big reservation.

These documents, too, when read in full must cause something of a reversal of judgment as to Abbé du Verger, who has been the subject of considerable condemnation, and even abuse, since the day in 1763, when he sold the mission property, and departed for France. Whereas, he has been charged with carrying away everything that he could, it appears from these letters that he carried away nothing but a worthless promise on the part of Lagrange to pay to the Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris, not to Father du Verger, certain sums of money. It seems to me that it is plainly apparent that Father du Verger thought the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris was the head of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Quebec, which was not strange, for many writers have noted that the Quebec institution was the outgrowth of the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères or the Seminary of Foreign Missions of Paris.

Neither is he blameworthy from the standpoint of selfishness with respect to the personal property, for, although he sold twelve of the slaves, and in like manner took worthless paper, payable to the Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris, he liberated most of the slaves and gave away some of them, also giving away some of the personal property, but, so far as the records show, never receiving a franc piece for himself from any of the mission property.

It has of course been noted that Lagrange or his assignees never paid anything on their promises, and that the real estate was all recovered back by the mission or parish.

Instead of the abuse which has been heaped upon Father du Verger who, apparently in good faith, in the light of all these letters, was seeking only to save what he could out of the ruin into which he thought the Council of New Orleans had plunged the Church and its property, the prayers of the aFithful for forgiveness of the weaknesses or faults to which he succumbed, are more appropriate.

A NEW ERA

We now enter upon what may be termed a new era in connection not only with the Cahokia region, but with the whole of Illinois and the Illinois country. It will be recalled that the war between France and England, known as the French and Indian war, was brought to a conclusion by the battle of Quebec, fought on September 13, 1759, and that in the treaty concluded after the war the French possessions, including the Illinois country, were ceded to England; that although the treaty was concluded in 1763, yet the actual possession of the Illinois territory was not secured by the British until 1765. When, however, the English did secure possession, although the commandants were appealed to, no definite action was taken with reference to the Cahokia property, and the matter dragged on through the thirteen years of British domination without any settlement, and with only such action as has been set forth in the letters and documents above published.

In 1778 jurisdiction was again shifted through the Clark conquest, and the region became, in a sense, subject to the government of the state of Virginia. Conditions remained unsettled, however, until after the close of the Revolutionary War, and indeed for several years longer.

When, however, Virginia had surrendered its claim in the Illinois region to the United States government, and thus transferred jurisdiction to the United States, the Continental Congress, by what is known as the ordinance of 1787, provided a new territorial government for the region northwest of the Ohio. The proceedings leading up to and in connection with the then status of jurisdiction are well told in the course of an opinion of the Supreme Court of Illinois written by Judge Breese, and promulgated at the January term of that court in 1861, reading as follows:

"A slight glance at the early history of the State, may throw some light upon the question presented by this record, one new to our courts, and with no aid to be derived from adjudicated cases.

Anterior to the voyage of the Jesuit Priest, Father James Marquette, with the Sieur Joliet, in the summer of 1673, prosecuted under the auspices of Mons. Talon, the Intendant of New France, as Canada was called, and then under the crown of France, but little, if any, authentic information existed, of the river Mississippi. The Jesuit Father, with his companions, proceeded from Canada, by way of Green Bay and the Wisconsin river, entered the iMssissippi on the tenth (17th) of June, 1673, and explored it to the mouth of the Arkansas, and returned, by way of the Illinois river, in September of that year. This was an exploration undertaking by the French Government, to be conducted on a larger scale subsequently, when,

in 1678, Robert Cavalier De LaSalle obtained letters patent from Louis XIV, dated 12th of May of that year. By this patent, LaSalle was permitted "to endeavor to discover the western part of New France," the king having at heart this discovery, "through which, it was probable, a road might be found to penetrate to Mexico." LaSalle was permitted to construct forts wherever necessary, and to hold them on the same terms as he held Fort Fronntenac under his patent of March 13, 1675. Acting under this patent of 1678, LaSalle with a small party, reached, by way of the Illinois river, on the ninth of April, 1682, the mouth of the Mississippi, and took formal possession of it, and of the country watered by the river, in the name of Louis XIV, and in his honor, called the country Louisiana.

In virtue of the authority, under his letters patent, LaSalle constructed Fort St. Louis, at the "Starved Rock," on the Illinois river, and other forts on the lakes, and Mississippi river. He seemed to have entire control of this portion of Louisiana, establishing his government at het Fort St. Louis, where it remained until sixteen hundred and ninety.

In the meantime, Jesuit missionaries advanced into the country, from the Seminary of Quebec, one of whom, James Gravier, as early as 1695, established the village of "our Lady of Kaskaskias," and there officiated at the altar, for several years, in the midst of populous tribes of Indians, laboring to convert them to Christianity.

In the month of July, 1698, the Bishop of Quebec granted letters patent to the directors and superiors of the Seminary of Foreign Missions there, for the establishment of a mission for the Tamarois and Kahokias 'living between the Illinois and Arancies,' their country being considered as the key and passage to more distant tribes. They were empowered to send their missionaries there, and 'to make such residences, and erect such missions as they might judge proper.'

In pursuance of this authority, "the Mission of St. Sulpice" (Holy Family) was established among the Tamarois and Kahokia Indians, and a village grew up, called "the village of the Holy Family of Caoquias," populated by Indians, fur traders, and tillers of the soil, all within the shadow of the Church of the Mission. This church was the nucleus of the village, the ground necessary for it, and land for the use of the villagers being readily granted by the native owners.

From the time LaSalle took possession of the country in 1682, we discover no trace of a control by the crown of France, over it, until the grant to Anthony Corzat, by letters patent under date of September 14, 1712, of the whole commerce of the country, then for the first time, officially, called Louisiana. The Jesuit missionaries appear, up to this period, to have exercised all the control, necessary, over its people, subject to no power other than their superiors of the Seminary of Quebec.

Crozat made efforts to develop the lead mines of Missouri and imported many laborers and others, to the several missions on the Mississippi river, but failing to find the precious metals in which it was thought this country abounded, he, in 1717, surrendered his

patent to the then occupant of the throne, the infant king, Louis XV, who ruled France, under the regency of the Duke of Orleans. He, in conjunction with the celebrated Law, established "the Company of the West," or "Company of the Indies," to whom was granted all Louisiana, with power, in conjunction with an officer of the crown, to grant away the royal domain. The early records of this State, preserved in the French language, are full of grants made by this company, up to 1732, when it was dissolved, and its powers and privileges reverted to the crown.

Among these records is to be found a grant substantially as fol-

lows:

We, Pierre Duguet de Boisbriant, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, and First Lieutenant of the King in the Province of Louisiana, Commandant in the Illinois; and Marc Antonia de la Loire Des Ursins, Principal Commissary of the Royal Company of the Indies:

"On the demand of the missionaries of the Caokias and Tamarois, to grant to them a tract of four leagues square in fee simple, with the neighboring island, to be taken a quarter of a league above the small river of Coakia, situated above the Indian village and in going up following the course of the Mississippi, and in returning towards the Fort of Chartres, running in depth to the north, east and south for quantity. We in consequence of our powers have granted the said land to the Missionaries of Coakias and Tamarois, in fee simple, over which, they can from the present, work, clear and plant the land, awaiting a formal concession which will be sent from France by the directors general of the Royal Company of the Indies. At the Fort of Chartres, this 22nd June A. D. 1722. Signed Boisbriant—Des Ursins."

On this grant documentary evidence presented by counsel in the argument of the case shows, that a village was established and village lots granted. On the explosion of "the Company of the West," on the 10th of April, 1732, their powers and privileges reverted to the crown, from which emanated, thereafter all grants of land. In August, 1743, this grant made in 1722, was recognized by the French Government, acting through Mons. Vaudrieul, then Governor, and

Salmon, Commissary, of the Province of Louisiana.

It will be perceived, there are no words in this grant, designating the land granted, or any portion of it, ac commons—nor does it appear for what special use it was granted, but generally, for the use of the mission there established. Upon it the missionaries established their church and village—granted portions of it for cultivation, whilst the largest portion was suffered to remain for the common use of the inhabitants, for pasturage, wood and other purposes. It is a peculiarity attending the early French settlements here, that the tillers of the soil did not reside upon their cultivated lands, but in the village. There were their barns and stables, and out-lots for the protection of their cattle, and appurtenant to it was the common, on which their animals could range and feed. The tillabe land was granted in narrow strips, usually about one arpent in width, and in depth for

quantity, some of which arpents were situate more than four miles from the village, going north.

In the cession by Virginia to the United States there was inserted a saving clause providing as follows:

"That the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincents and the neighboring villages who have professed themselves citizens of Virginia shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties."

A similar provision was contained in the ordinance of 1787, and when the state of Illinois was organized the constitution of 1818 contained a similar provision, as did also the constitution of 1848.

Plainly, according to the basic laws the title to the Cahokia property remained just as it was; that is, in the Seminary of Quebec, for it is to be eremembered that the Cahokia property was not established as a common for the use of the residents of the village of Cahokia, as was the case with some of the other commons, but the grant was direct to the Seminary of Quebec, and it so remained; or, in other words, in the Church. This was certainly the status up to 1791, as Judge Breese sets forth in the opinion above quoted from:

"On the 3rd of March 1791, the Congress of the United States passed an act for granting lands to the inhabitants and settlers at Vincennes and the Illinois country in the territory northwest of the Ohio, and for confirming them in their possessions, the fifth section of which provides 'that a tract of land containing about 5400 acres, which for many years has been fenced and used by the inhabitants of Vincennes as a common; also a tract of land including the village of Cahos and Prairie du Pont, and heretofore used by the inhabitants of the said villages as a common, be and the same are hereby appropriated to the use of the inhabitants of Vincennes, and of the said villages respectively, to be used by them as a common until otherwise disposed of by law."

On this state of facts the Supreme Court incorporates in the opinion a paragraph which, upon close examination might be held obiter dicta. It reads:

"This act is an operative grant of all the interest the United States may at any time have had in the land described in the transcript of the commissioners under that date, and confirms the land in terms to the inhabitants of these 'villages' respectively. Now it cannot be material to inquire to what uses these lands were originally appropriated by the priests of the mission, the government having power to confirm the title to them or to grant them, having restricted the grant to the inhabitants of those villages as a common."²⁸

The quesion may be asked, is the basis of the Supreme Court's statement correct, "the government having power to confirm the title to them or to grant them." Had the government power to confirm

²⁸ Herbert et al. vs. Francis Lavalle, 27 Ill., 448.

the title to these lands belonging to the Seminary of Quebec, and had the government power to grant them to anybody? The government could no more take away the property of this concern, the Seminary of Quebec, without due process of law, and without the payment of just compensation, than it could take the property of any other individual, corporation or association; much less had the government the power to take the property away from the priests of the mission, without due process of law, and then confer it upon some one else.

It is evident, however, that at the time this action was taken there was a prevailing impression that the government had complete control of these properties, but that impression no doubt arose from the misunderstanding of the nature of the Cahokia grant. Had it been a grant for common use, such as some of the other grants of commons were, the situation might have been different, and it is no doubt true that the Congress had in mind that the Cahokia grant was like all the rest.

It could hardly be expected, of course, that a situation like this would continue unnoticed. As a matter of fact as time passed and the lands became more valuable questions concerning these lands found their way into the courts, one of which was determined in the case above alluded to.

The case above referred to involved only the question of residence, and necessitated a decision only as to whether one who was not a resident of the village of Cahokia had a right of common, and it was held that he had not.

A subsequent case, that of Haps vs. Hewitt, was decided at the February term of the Supreme Court in 1881, and the opinion was written by Mr. Justice Mulkey. This case involved the title to a lot in East St. Louis, which city, by the way, was included in the Cahokia commons, so called. Prior to the rendering of this decision additional legislative action had been taken. In 1827 the state legislature by a special act authorized the inhabitants of Cahokia to elect annually from amongst themselves some suitable person to act as supervisor of the community, and by the express terms of the act he was made "supervisor of the common lands attached to the village," and enabled to sue and be sued with respect to the same.

By an act of February 17, 1841, entitled "An Act to authorize the supervisor of the village of Cahokia to lease part of the common appertaining to said village," the supervisor was authorized to have surveyed and divided into lots any part of the commons he might deem proper, and make leases of the same, either at public or private sale, as he might think best, for any number of years, not exceeding one hundred."

By the act of March 21, 1874, the legislature enlarged the supervisor's power for disposition over these commons, so as to authorize him to convey in fee the reversion of such parts of them as had theretofore been leased.

Accordingly, a means had been found for getting this supposedly public land into private ownership. All that was necessary under the several statutes was to first make a lease of any term, not exceeding ninety-nine years, and then sell the reversion to anyone who wished to buy. To all intents and purposes a lease of one year might be made and the reversion sold to the same lessee or to some other person, and the buyer would receive a fee simple title; and the court held in this case in substance:

"Under these acts the holder of a leasehold interest in a lot by acquiring the reversion, becomes the absolute owner in fee, the leasehold estate being merged in the fee."

The case of Rutz vs. Kehn and others, was passed on at the May term 1891, and January term 1892. In this case the question of accretions or additions to lots on account of the recession of the waters of the Mississippi was involved, but the court held, in substance, that

"By section 5 of the act of March 21, 1874, persons holding any portion of such title by existing leases have the right to acquire the fee simple title thereto by paying a sum which, at 3 per cent per annum, will produce annually a sum equal to the rent due yearly under the lease proposed to be extinguished by the purchaser. This is such a property right that the lessee cannot be divested of it, without his consent, by any act of the village, or any one representing it, nor can it in any wise be incumbered nor abridged by a subsequent lease."

This decision carries the process of elimination of the common title a step farther, and makes it plain that one could procure a lease from the supervisor on one day, and the next day come in and by the payment of a sum which, at three per cent per annum, would produce annually a sum equal to the rent due yearly under the lease, demand a conveyance in fee simple, and compel the issuance thereof. Subsequent cases involving some question with reference to these titles include:

²⁹ 97 Ill., 498.

^{30 143} Ill., 558.

President and Trustees of Commons of Kaskaskia vs. William McClure, in which an opinion was filed May 10, 1897, the case being reported in 167th Illinois, p. 23.

Stead, Attorney General and others, appellees vs. the President and Trustees of the Commons of Kaskaskia, opinion filed December 8, 1909, reported in 243 Ill., p. 239.

Land Commissioners vs. Kaskaskia Commons, 249th Ill., p. 578.

The point to be observed in all this litigation is the apparent error under which the Congress of 1791 acted in assuming that these lands had something of a public or common character, which was not true. It will bear repeating that they were the private property of an institution that was qualified to hold private property. They were never surrendered to the government of France, Canada or Great Britain, or in any way released or surrendered to the state of Virginia or the United States of America, yet, nevertheless, during all this litigation that question never was raised. Can it be possible that under our constitution and laws the title to property can be wiped out or transferred in this way?

In the great volume of litigation almost every conceivable controversy has been involved, and in the decision of litigated cases the courts have passed upon almost every question capable of contest; and while the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois may not have decided the exact question involved in the Cahokia property, yet in the decision of other cases principles have been laid down that would help one to arrive at an opinion regarding the Cahokia property.

One of the earliest cases involving church property is that of Ferraria and others against Vasconcellos and others, decided by the Supreme Court in 1863.³¹ It was a dispute between two factions or wings of the Presbyterian Church at Jacksonville, Illinois. The great legal luminary, John D. Caton, was then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and the other two justices (the court then consisted of but three justices) were Hon. Pinkney H. Walker and Hon. Sidney Breese. Chief Justice Caton in a separate opinion laid down the following principles, which have never been qualified to the present day:

"As a matter of law, as I understand the decisions, the rule is, that where a church is erected for the use of a particular denomination, or religious persuasion, a majority of the members of the church cannot abandon the tenets and doctrine of the denomination, and retain the right to the use of the property; but such secessionists forfeit all right to the property, even if but a single member adheres

^{81 23} Ill., 456.

to the original faith and doctrone of the church. This rule is founded in reason and justice, and is not departed from in this case.

Church property is rarely paid for by those alone who there worship, and those who contribute to its purchase or erection are presumed to do so with reference to a particular form of worship, or to promote the promulgation or teachings of particular doctrines or tenets of religion, which, in their estimation, tend most to the salvation of souls; and to pervert the property to another purpose, is an injustice of the same character as the application of other trust property to purposes other than those designed by the donor.

Hence it is, that those who adhere to the original tenets and doctrines for the promulgation of which a church has been erected, are the sole beneficiaries designed by the donors; and those who depart from and abandon those tenets and doctrines, cease to be beneficiaries, and forfeit all claim to the title and use of such property. These are the principles on which all these decisions are founded; and so long as we keep these principles distinctly in view, we can have no great difficulty in applying them to the facts of each particular case, when the facts are once clearly ascertained."

Another case involving property considerations is that of Chase and others vs. Cheney.³² This was a controversy which arose in Chicago, and involved primarily questions of ecclesiastical discipline in the Protestant Episcopal Church. The great lawyers who contested in this case were Melville W. Fuller, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, for the defendant in error, and William C. Goudy and Mr. Corning Judd for the plaintiffs in error. The great jurist, Anthony Thornton, wrote the oponion of the court, in the course of which he laid down the following wholesome principles:

"In this unhappy controversy, is involved a graver question, and of deeper moment to all christian men—indeed to all men who believe that christianity, pure and simple, is the fairest system of morals, the firmest prop to our government, the chiefest reliance, in this life and the life to come. Shall we maintain the boundary between Church and State, and let each revolve in its respective sphere, the one undisturbed by the other? All history warns, not to rouse the passion or wake up the fanaticism, which may grapple with the State, in a deathly struggle for supremacy.

Our constitution provides, that 'the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever be guaranteed.' In ecclesiastical law, profession means the act of entering into a religious order. Religious worship consists in the performance of all the external acts, and the observance of all ordinances and ceremonies, which are engaged in with the sole and avowed object of honoring God. The constitution intended to guar-

^{82 58} Ill., 509.

antee from all interference by the State, not only each man's religious faith, but his membership in the church, and the rites and discipline which might be adopted. The only exception to uncontrolled liberty is, that acts of licentiousness shall not be excused, and practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State shall not be justified. Freedom of religious profession and worship can not be maintained, if the civil courts trench upon the domain of the church, construe its canons and rules, dictate its discipline, and regulate its trials. The larger portion of the christian world has always recognized the truth of the declaration, 'A church without discipline must become, if not already, a church without religion.' It is as much a delusion to confer religious liberty without the right to make and enforce rules and canons, as to create government with no power to punish offenders. The constitution guarantees the 'free exercise and enjoyment.' This implies, not alone the practice, but the 'possession with satisfaction'-not alone the exercise, but the exercise coupled with enjoyment. This 'free exercise and enjoyment' must be as each man, and each voluntary association of men, may determine. The civil power may contribute to the protection, but can not interfere to destroy or fritter away."

Property rights were again involved in the case of Kuns vs. Robertson,³³ decided in 1895, and which involved a dispute between factions of the church of the United Brethren in Christ, in the opinion, which was a *per curiam* opinion, it is said:

"We are of opinion that in thi scase there has been no such perversion, misuse or abuse of the trust invested in appellees, as would authorize interference by the courts. They and their predecessors have been in the possession and control thereof continuously for more than a fourth of a century, and have been and are the representatives, officers and members of the church of the United Brethren in Christ, and as such are entitled to retain the trust and the possession and enjoyment of the trust property."

Another decision, bringing the familiar principles down to a more recent date was rendered in the case of Alden vs. St. Peter's Parish,³⁴ originating in DeKalk county, in connection with a transfer of lands to St. Peter's Parish in the city of Sycamore, by James F. Waterman and Abbie L. Waterman, his wife, and was contested by factions of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The decision in the case was written by Hon. Orrin N. Carter, still a distinguished member of the Supreme Court, and one of the ablest jurists that ever graced that tribunal. In the course of the opinion Judge Carter said:

"It has been repeatedly held by this court that the statute of 43 Elizabeth (chap. 4) is in force in this State, and that gifts to char-

^{83 154} Ill., 394.

^{34 158} Ill., 631.

itable uses are, by force of that statute, excluded from the operation of the rule against perpetuities. (Heuser vs. Harris, 42 II., 425; Andrews v. Andrews, 110 id. 223; Crerar v. William, 145 id. 625.) It is also established that a gift for the support of churches, or to pay the expense of preaching any particular religious doctrine, comes within the equity, and therefore within the spirit, of that statute, as a gift for a charitable use. (Andrews v. Andrews, supra; Crerar v. Williams, supra; Hunt v. Fowler, 121 Ill., 269.) It is true that the questions presented for decision by this record, so far as they (or those of a kindred nature) have heretofore come before this court for consideration, have arisen under wills, and not deeds. But we do not understand the counsel for appellants to insist that the deeds in question are void on the ground that, being made to the officers of an unincorporated society in trust for such society or its members or directly to such unincorporated society, there was no grantee capable, in law, of taking by deed. If the grant were not one made as a gift for a charitable or pious use, and so not brought within the saving provisions of the statute of 43 Elizabeth, it might be contended that the deeds would be void for want of a grantee, capable of taking. (German Land Association v. Scholler, 10 Minn., 331.) But we are of the opinion, conceding that the religious society in question was not incorporated, that the conveyances were made to the rector, church wardens and vestrymen of the society in their official capacity, in trust for a designated charitable and pious use, and are within the provisions of the statute in question, and are not void for want of a grantee capable of taking by deed, but will be upheld and enforced in equity, unless rendered invalid upon other grounds urged by counsel and referred to below. Judd v. Woodbury, 2 Root, (Conn.) 289; 20 Am. & Eng. Ency. of Law, 804, Ferraria v. Vasconcelles, 31 Ill., 25.

The conveyances in question were made to the rector, church wardens and vestrymen of this unincorporated religious society, the one conveying the one hundred and sixty acres being 'upon the express condition and trust that the rents, issues and profits be devoted to and used for the payment, so far as it may go, of the salary of the rectors of said parish forever,' and the other, conveying the lots, being upon condition that they were to be used for church purposes only. Both were given for the consideration of love and affection for the church and parish. It is clear that these conveyances constituted a gift in trust for a charitable use. (Ferraria v. Masconcelles, 23 Ill. 456 and 31 id. 25; Am. & Eng. Ency. of Law, 805-809.) And in such a case a court of equity wil be inclined to lend its aid in carrying out the purpose of the donor and to give effect to the trust, if it can be done consistently with existing laws. The questions so far considered have been so often and so uniformly decided that we deem any further discussion of them, and citation of authority in support of the position here assumed unnecessary."

Considering the whole record as sketched in the letters, documents and observations here presented one can hardly avoid arriving at the conclusion that the title to these Cahokia lands was never by any process taken out of the original grantees or donees of the French government. On the face of this record these lands belong to the Church, for the Fathers of the Quebec Seminary were but trustees, holding for the Church.

Hon. Harry E. Daugherty, Attorney General of the United States has during the month of November, 1922, given utterance to the principle of the inviolability of Church property in a most striking and effective manner to the effect that Church property belongs to God and is not affected by human laws and transactions.

Whether the Church, the rightful owner, is by lapse of time, or some other circumstance precluded from repossessing itself of the property, is a question for exhaustive legal investigation. The moral question, or question of right and wrong in the matter, seems not open to discussion, as from that standpoint the lands belong to the Church.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

PATH FINDERS

REV. DENNIS RYAN, MISSIONARY AND PASTOR

Due to various causes, some of them very strange indeed, Illinois has been honored by the presence and ministrations of some of the most notable personages ever connected with the American elergy.

The names of such great leaders as Marquette, Allouez, Gravier, Marest, Meurin, and indeed of all the Jesuit missionaries to the Indians are familiar, as are also the names of Gibault, Olivier, Richards, St. Cyr and others of the earlier days, but there are many of a later day in all respects notable that have practically vanished from the memory of men although their labors and sacrifices were almost as great as those of their noted predecessors, and the results achieved by them were in all respects most gratifying.

Amongst such as these may be mentioned Rev. Dennis Ryan, the founder and organizer of the Church in Lockport, Illinois, and the leader of the Faithful in a large territory surrounding that settlement.¹

Father Ryan came to Lockport from the East, enjoying the distinction of being the first priest ordained in Boston, Mass., the first priest ordained by the saintly Bishop Cheverus, and the modern apostle of the State of Maine. His career prior to coming to Illinois is admirably told in a paper by Rev. John E. Kealy of Lewiston, Me., which follows:

The centenary of the dedication of St. Dennis' Church, North Whitefield, Maine, naturally brings to mind the pioneer Catholic families, as well as the nearly forgotten figure of the man who for upwards of a third of a century, ruled over and guided the destinies of this our first Catholic parish in Maine, the man who ministered to the spiritual and temporal wants of our early Catholic settlers, the man whose memories and traditions yet linger, and are often recalled

¹Through marriage the Ryan family of which the Rev. Dennis Ryan was a most worthy representative and Rev. Jeremiah Kinsella, the first pastor of the Holy Name Cathedral and first president and founder, under Bishop William Quarter of the University of St. Mary of the Lake, as well as the substantial family of Kinsellas of Chicago and Joliet were related.

The niece of Rev. Dennis Ryan, Mary Ryan, married John Kinsella, brother of the father of Rev. Jeremiah Kinsella, and of this marriage was born Francis D., John J. and J. Edward Kinsella, all well-known in Chicago and as organizers and operators of the Kinsella Glass Company.

by the children of the third and fourth generation who today love and revere the name of Dennis Ryan, the founder of their parish.

Born at Bramblestown, County of Kilkenny, Ireland, May 1st, 1786, Dennis Ryan's early years were spent in the bosom of a devoted Irish family whose one aim was to give its offspring all the advantages then possible for the children of a well-to-do, if not rich occupant of the Irish soil. His boyhood days witnessed the stirring scenes of 1798 when those sterling patriots, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Napper Tandy, Wolfe Tone, and others were organizing their country men for the preservation of the nation's liberties; when the men of Wexford, in their might rose up against the English tyrants; when the immortal Emmett was sacrificed on the altar of his country; when the eloquence of Grattan and the learning of Curran were powerless against the enemies of his native land. While too young to join in what proved to be a one-sided and hopeless contest, young Ryan never learned to love the oppressor of his race, and as we shall see was not slow in taking sides against her, once the opportunity presented itself.

From his earliest years, filled with the ambition of a missionary career, with the desire of devoting his energies to the spiritual needs of his exiled countrymen, Dennis Ryan, on the completion of his preparatory studies, entered Carlow College, for the usual course in Philosophy and Theology where he remained for one year, at the expiration of which he decided to cast his lot with the thousands of his fellow countrymen then seeking their fortunes in the new world. As England and the United States were then at war, coming here being out of the question, the young man naturally directed his footsteps towards Canada with the hope of either passing thence to America, or of continuing his ecclesiastical studies in one of the Canadian seminaries. Here perchance would have been the scene of his priestly labors, had not Divine Providence willed otherwise by so shaping events as to bring the young aspirant to holy priesthood to the very place where his services would be in greatest demand by his exiled countrymen, many of whom were obliged to leave their native land, following the failure of the rebellion of '98.

In his after years, Dennis Ryan took great pleasure in recalling the manner of his entrance to the United States, of how he chanced to make the acquaintance of the American people as well as to witness American valor. On its way to Quebec, the vessel bearing young Ryan was captured by a Yankee privateer. As Father Ryan used to narrate this stirring incident: "The English and American ships were lashed together, and all were ordered to board the American vessel, and pass down into the hold of the ship. American officers

were stationed on either side of the gang plank to view the prisoners as they came on board. When I came up, turning to the American officer I exclaimed, 'Now I am where I want to be, where I can fight the English.' The officer took me by the arm and told me to go up on deck where I would find congenial companions and the opportunity of gratifying my wishes, a privilege which was accorded to no one else among the prisoners, and which gave me on landing the freedom of the old Puritan metropolis of Boston, where for a time, I earned my livelihood working in the harvest fields outside the city.''

Anxious to continue preparations for the sacred calling to which he had already been introduced by holy tonsure at Carlow College, the young man was not long in making the acquaintance of the kind Catholic Bishop then ruling the destinies of the Church in New England. Good Bishop Cheverus had long been looking for vocations to holy priesthood among the few struggling Catholic families here and there, over the vast territory which he was accustomed to call "my poor diocese." Burdened with the responsibility of the children of the Church, with only one priest, the aged Matignon, to assist, if we except the missionary, James Romagné, whose energies were devoted to the spiritual needs of the Catholic Indians at Old Town on the Penobscot as well as at Passamaquoddy on the historic Sainte Croix, we easily realize the joy that beamed from the heart of the illustrious Cheverus as he bade young Ryan welcome to his humble home, and gave him the assurance that he and his friend, Dr. Matignon, would do all in their power to further the exile's laudable ambitions by hastening the day when as a priest he might be commissioned to carry the Divine message, and break the bread of life eternal in the midst of many a poor family then sighing (in their far and distant homes) for the consolations of the spiritual life.

From now on, Ryan's time was devoted to learning, in the home of his benefactors, the lessons necessary for the faithful performance of his future duties, endowed as he was with talents beyond the ordinary, pious and devoted to the needs of the Master's vineyard. It was in the home and at the table of men like Matignon and Cheverus, that many a heroic missionary was taught the virtues of the sacerdotal life, the exemplary practice of which has given them an honored place in Catholic American history.

It was probably some time in February, 1815, that Dennis Ryan took up his residence in the parish house in Boston, where he remained until he came to assume his duties as resident priest among the Catholics of Maine. While awaiting the day of his ordination, his time was given to the study of sacred theology, to teaching catechism, to

assisting in the administration of the sacraments, as well as in the general duties about the humble household, the home of the first Bishop of Boston. That he succeeded in pleasing his patrons, and responding to their wishes, is amply evidenced by the written testimony of Bishop Cheverus. In a long letter addressed by Cheverus to the Father of the American Church, Archbishop Carroll of Baltimore, we find the following reference to Dennis Ryan: "I have now with me in the house, an Irish young man, aged twenty-eight years, who has studied Philosophy and Divinity a year at Carlow College in Ireland; he has received tonsure. His name is Dennis Ryan. He has been three months with us. He continues to study Divinity, catechises, attending us when we administer the sacraments, etc. He is of mild manners, and appears sincerely pious. I have written to Kilkenney for an exeat, and if I receive it with the proper papers, testimonials in his favor, after some time, I will ordain him. His talents are not brilliant, but I hope that he may prove a useful assistant to my venerable friend, particularly when I am absent from Boston. He was bound to Quebec; was taken by a privateer, and brought here last October.".

Thus passed the immediate preparation of Dennis Ryan for the priesthood to which he was advanced by his Bishop two years later, his ordination taking place on the morning of May 30th, 1817, in the old Franklin St. Cathedral.² A large congregation assembled to witness the first conferring of Holy Orders in Boston, the first ordination in New England. Bishop Cheverus, who preached the sermon on this historic occasion, eloquently depicted the responsibilities of the exalted dignity to which he had raised their young friend, together with the brighter side of the picture, in as much as man thereby becomes, as it were, a channel, through which flow countless, priceless and inestimable blessings to his fellow creatures. As was customary, all were eager to receive the young priest's first blessing; to kiss the hands of the Lord's annointed. The life of the young man "of mild manners and sincerely pious," had not been without its effect among the good people of Boston, many of whom like himself were natives of the ever faithful isle. The desire to honor him with presents was general, some even wishing to confer costly gifts, or large sums of money, like one of the Bishop's closest friends, Mr. Vernon de Bon-

² "On the last day of May, 1817, Bishop Cheverus ordained Rev. Dennis Ryan, the first priest of his diocese, and a long and laborious missionary. The ordination took place at public Mass, the Bishop giving a full explanation of the Catholic doctrine of Holy Orders." Shea, Catholic History of America, p. 117, citing letter of Bishop Cheverus to Rev. S. Gabriel Brute.

neuil, who had left instructions that one hundred dollars should, in his name, be given the young priest on his ordination day.

Writing a few hours later, this same day, May 30, 1817, to Mr. De Bonneuil, who was then at Guadeloupe, Bishop Cheverus says: "Je viens d'ordonner Mr. Ryan. Il dira sa première messe demain," or as we would say in English, I have just ordained Mr. Ryan. He will offer his first mass tomorrow. It was, therefore, on the feast of the Most Holy Trinity, 1817, in the Franklin St. Cathedral, Boston. that Dennis Ryan saw the realization of his fondest hopes and aspirations. His dreams as a child amid the loved haunts of his native land, amid those vales so often sanctified of old by the clean oblation, were now to be verified; his stewardship of two years or more in the home of his Bishop where he had shared in the labors and privations of our first chief pastor, were now to be crowned, when in all humility he was privileged to ascend the Altar of the Lord, there to begin his sacrifical life with the sublime words of the Trinity Introit: "Blessed by the Holy Trinity and undivided Unity; we give glory to Him because He hath shown his mercy to us." Truly could the young priest give echo to these words of Holy Writ, so fraught with mystery. From his very heart he could not but feel the conviction that to him the mercy of the Lord had been great, since out of his poverty, out of his very lowliness, he had been given an eminence to which the rich, the great, and the grand might well aspire.

As assistant at the Boston Cathedral, the duties of the young priest at once began under the direction of his pastor, Dr. Matignon. An old seminary director, Father Matignon still preserved that sacerdotal spirit which was the distinguishing trait of the clergy of his day. A Doctor of the sorbonne, he possessed that knowledge of things divine which left him without a peer among the men of his time. That he did his best to train his young assistant in knowledge and piety, during the few months he remained under his care, can we for a moment doubt? The eyes of the missionary Bishop were also carefully centered on the life of his young priest, and we may well rest assured that he watched with interest the pupil develop under the master hand of his venerated friend. Were we privileged to read the correspondence that passed between Bishop Cheverus and Dr. Matignon during the summer of 1817, while the Bishop was on his annual trip to what was then called the District of Maine, we would be given many a hint of praise, many a confession of zeal, many a hope of future promise. We would be made to realize that the chief pastor had already selected the scene of his youthful co-laborer's future victories, and that that chosen field of toil would be none other than

our own dear State of Maine, especially the growing missions of Whitefield and Damariscotta.

With these promising surroundings before him, with his plans all matured, Bishop Cheverus in the fall of this same year under date of October 8th, from the sheltering walls of the Kavenaugh homestead at New Castle, wrote his friend, Mr. De Bonneuil, who was still at Guadeloupe, that he was planning to send Father Ryan to Damariscotta in the spring, adding: "I will then give him the hundred dollars you wished me to give him in your name on the morn of his ordination." The Bishop had already written that in his judgment it would be unwise then to give a young priest so much money, but, remarks the Bishop in this same letter, "once on the mission this sum will be very useful to him." Twenty years of toli and travel in Maine had taught the zealous Cheverus the need of a little extra means, hence he saw the utility of husbanding his priest's meager fortune for the hour of need, for the days when he would be thrown on his own resources, where his sources of revenue would in truth be limited.

Father Ryan's formation period was continued through the winter of 1817 and 1818, a winter remarkable for its mildness at Boston, and the fact that the first snow came only on the 10th of January; but long ere the forest snows had melted, or the roads had settled in Maine, the young priest had received his appointment. It was an April morning in 1818 when, were it permitted us to look into the secrets of the humble episcopal residence in Boston, we would have heard the last parting adieus, the heartfelt God speed, and beheld young Ryan with his few beholdings on his way to Maine.³

Did he make the toilsome journey by stage, or did he avail himself of the kindly offices of some good captain, the reader is left to imagine. Either way had its difficulties, and must have left him travel worn and fatigued long ere he reached his journey's end. But where to lay his weary head; where to rest his toil worn frame? Thus far the one home that had ever kept its latchstring out for the wandering priest was that of Mr. Kavenaugh at New Castle. Thither in all probability came Father Ryan to spend his first days in Maine, to repose and get his bearings before taking up a work that was to carry him practically through his entire priestly career. James Kavenaugh and his partner, Matthew Cottrill, were then as they had been for many years, the chief support of the Church in Maine. Bishop Cheverus in his reports to Archbishop Carroll represents James Kan-

^{*&#}x27;'The next year (1818) he (Bishop Cheverus) dispatched to the mission in Maine the Rev. Dennis Ryan who, to the joy of the Catholics in that district, became their permanent pastor.'' *Ibid*.

enaugh as being a leader in all that concerned the welfare of the Church in New England.

For many years it had been the aim of Bishop Cheverus to establish a resident priest at New Castle, where he would be easily accessible to most of the Catholic people then living in this section, and where the little brick chapel erected in 1808 would be available for Sunday and daily services. In fact, since this Chapel, now the oldest in New England, had been opened, the Bishop had endeavored to have Mass there as frequently as possible, being there for the most part himself during the summer months, arranging to have the missionary priest, James Romagné, then stationed among the Indians at Passamaquoddy, to spend the winter season at the home of Mr. Kavenaugh, at New Castle, just a few steps from St. Patrick's Church. But as the neighboring towns had long been open to settlers and all the available lands occupied, or held at too high a price, the few poor families, chiefly Irish, then coming to this section of Maine, were naturally forced to settle farther up the valley of the Sheepscot in the towns nearer its source.

When Father Ryan arrived in New Castle in the spring of 1818, several of these families had already located in the towns of Whitefield, Windsor and Jefferson, where the land appeared richer, and was held at a lower price. Thither the young priest directed his steps and took up his residence in the home of Peter Kavenaugh who, with his young family, lived in a log cabin, not far from the present Catholic Church in Whitefield. Here Father Ryan remained until he had erected the brick house, which stands today as one of the monuments left to recall the memory of the first resident pastor of the Catholic Church in Maine. For some time it was a question as to whether the new church should be situated in Whitefield or Windsor, the Catholic people at this time being about equally divided between these two towns. The location of the church was finally decided by James Keating, who offered to give a lot in case the church was built in Whitefield. Father Ryan accepted Mr. Keating's offer and built his church on the spot where the present church now stands, a spot which he was later on obliged to purchase from Ruel Williams of Augusta, who apparently was able to establish a valid claim to the land donated by Mr. Keating.

The first church which Father Ryan built in Whitefield, begun shortly after his coming, was a hastily constructed building, designed more to take care of the pressing needs of his people, than to furnish them with what might be termed a permanent place of worship. Aided by his good parishoners, the priest went into the forests, cut and hewed green timbers which were rapidly assembled, giving in a

short time shelter, if not an artistic home, for religious worship, a home after all in keeping with the primitive habitations of the early settlers. This first church in the Irish colony of Whitefield, was dedicated under the invocation of St. Dennis by Bishop Cheverus, June 30, 1822.

To one familiar with the history of these early days of the Church in Maine, but few records are necessary for the reconstruction of the life of one of her pioneer missionaries. We have only to remember the isolated families oftentimes fifty or even several hundred miles distant; the roads, frequently little more than paths through the virgin forests, designated by spotted trees, bordered and overhung with luxuriant vegitation in summer, in winter with drooping branches heavily laden with snow,—to realize the long and tedious journeys which had to be undertaken by the young pastor when it was necessary for him to visit the members of his widely scattered parish. Sick calls were often on the road several days ere the zealous priest could arrive at the afflicted home to sooth the troubled soul, or perhaps to sympathize with those left to mourn the untimely death of an unshriven Christian. The difficulties of a newly settled country had to be met and conquered by Dennis Ryan during the early days of his pastorate at Whitefield, Maine. Physically robust, able to turn his hand to any kind of work, capable of enduring all kinds of fatigue. we easily see how he was well fitted by nature to perform the laborious duties of a pioneer pastor of the infant Church in Maine.

To receive exiled Irish families, aid them in the selection of their farms and in the erection of their primitive homes, to finance their temporary needs, to be to them a father in God, a friend in need, a consoler in sorrow as well as a sharer in their pleasures, such was Father Ryan's lot during the early years of his stay in Whitefield.

So many and varied were the duties of a priest on the mission during these early years in our history, so intimate were his associations with his people, so much did he enter into their daily lives, that we need not be surprised to find frequent mention in his Bishop's correspondence of his success and of the esteem in which he was held by his parishoners. Among the letters of Bishop Cheverus preserved in the archives of Baltimore and at Quebec we come across many references to Dennis Ryan in his parish at Whitefield.

Under date of October 28th, 1818, in a letter from Bishop Cheverus to Archbishop Marechal of Baltimore, we find the following reference to our early missionary: "Father Ryan, whom I ordained at Trinity last year, is at present on the mission in the Maine District, where he is doing very well, being loved and respected by all. This

has encouraged me to take into my house another young Irishman, Mr. Patrick Byrne, who is now studying Theology under my care. I shall likewise ordain him for the Maine District." Again under date of January 7, 1819: "I have at my house a young Irishman whom I am preparing for ordination. Father Ryan, the one who preceded him, is doing so well on the mission, that I am encouraged to continue this work." In a summary of his diocese and its condition addressed to Archbishop Marechal, November 26, 1822, we find mentioned the names of the entire clergy of the Church in New England.

"I have here with me," i. e. in Boston, "Rev. William Taylor, Vicar General; Rev. Paul McQuaide, who attends Salem and other places about Boston; Rev. Patrick Byrne (a first cousin of Father Dennis Ryan), who lives here, but who visits the Indians in Maine; Rev. Dennis, who resides in the State of Maine and attends to the churches at Whitefield and New Castle. The last two made their Seminary studies with me, and I ordained them. They are, thank God, two good priests." That Father Ryan was a faithful laborer in the vineyard of the Lord, generally esteemed by all is the conclusion we gather from the careful perusal of these time worn, over a century old letters now carefully preserved in the Archiepiscopal archives of Baltimore and Quebec, letters which enable us to throw much light on the lives of priests who, like Dennis Ryan, graced the heroic age of the Church in our country. Under Father Ryan's fostering hand this first Catholic parish in Maine prospered and became as it were a center whence his activities extended to many parts of the State where today we have large and flourishing parishes. His visits to these different places, then important seaside towns like Portland, Bath, Wiscasset, Walterborough, Thomaston, Belfast, Bangor, etc., kept the Church and their religious duties before our early Catholic families. It is to these families, for the most part poor and struggling, but blessed with numerous children many of whom, owing to lack of religious training in our holy faith, were, through force of circumstances, lost to the Church, that we owe the many good old Irish names so frequently found along our seaboard, whose bearers no longer know the great Church of their forefathers. As a rule, our people settled in groups whenever possible, hence in these places they were more easily reached and the losses to the Faith correspondingly diminished. Had it been possible for Bishop Cheverus to place several priests like Father Ryan in the field at this early date, we have little doubt that the history of the Church in New England would have been materially changed. But while we cannot help regretting our losses, we nevertheless find much to console us in the labors of early

missionaries, such as Father Ryan, who through their tireless energy held in the Faith many who might otherwise have been lost.

When Father Ryan came to Whitefield in the spring of 1818, his people were few and were living for the most part in log cabins in the midst of small clearings where the green stumps of the recently fallen trees were in evidence on every side. But in a few years this was all changed, so much so that a traveller passing through his parish felt himself obliged to leave us the following beautiful description of the results attained chiefly through Father Ryan's efforts together with the willing response on the part of his people.⁴

Written under date of July 16, 1832, this old time letter states: "The congregation of Whitefield consists of more than twelve hundred souls. Twenty years ago there were scarcely five Catholics in

The congregation belonging to this last mentioned church is greatly scattered and is far more numerous than the other. The church is said to contain four or five hundred persons and is generally filled in good weather.

THE CHURCH AT OLD TOWN, MAINE

This church was erected exclusively for the tribe of Penobscot Indians who are all Catholics. It is old and small. The tribe consists of about four hundred souls.

THE CHURCH AT PASSAMAQUODDY, MAINE

This church was also erected exclusively for the benefit of the Passamaquoddy tribe of Indians, who like the others are entirely Catholic. Their number is about three hundred. The church, though small, is tolerably decent. Adjoining it is a house for a clergyman, but unfortunately, like their brethren at Old Town, they are at present destitute of a pastor. The Bishop will make it his duty to procure one who may divide his time equally between the tribes.—Memoranda of the Diocese of Boston.

Sister M. Anastatia Ryan, a niece of Father Ryan, certifies that she copied the foregoing notes verbatim from the records of the Diocese of Boston and she adds. 'Although the name of Rev. D. Ryan is not mentioned as administering to the Indians, still I think he did, remembering of seeing some of them coming on the Feasts of Christmas or Easter to Whitefield where a brick church was erected.' Sister Anastatia also gives an impression of her Uncle: 'The remembrance of our Uncle impresses me that he was a type of the Bishop. (Cheverus)—Modeled himself on him or rather lead a hidden life in God, Who is the Divine Model for us all. It is to be regretted that his missionary life in Maine of 29 years and in Illinois of six years were not written. His work at times extended from Joliet, or even Morris, to near Chicago. I am inclined to think the grand Washington Park was in former days the 'Twelve Mile Prairie.''

⁴ Father Ryan had other important charges also, as appears from memoranda in the archives of the diocese of Boston as follows:

[&]quot;1825. A small brick church at Damarascotta in the State of Maine. The congregation extremely small, consisting of five or six families only. It is served once a month by Rev. Mr. Ryan. A small frame church at Whitefield, Maine, which is likewise served by the Rev. Dennis Ryan, who divides his time between the two places.

this section of the country. The whole, for many miles around, was a mere wilderness, with here and there a log-house, a few spots of land newly cleared for culinary purposes, and no other road than a rude irregular path formed through briars and brambles by some other animal than civilized man. What a surprising change in a few years! A thickly settled Catholic population now covers the land beautiful farms appear in every direction—orchards are planted roads are cut—comfortable houses erected—and the large and convenient barns, which everywhere strike the eye, and the extensive fields of grass, sufficiently indicate the fertility of the soil, as well as the industry and growing prosperity of the inhabitants. None of these may be called rich, in the common acceptance of the word; but there are few among them that do not abound in the necessaries, and a great many of them in even the comforts of life. But what is greatly to be admired among these good people is, their simplicity of manners—and the great hospitality which is exercised throughout every part of this Catholic settlement. The stranger is there received with cheerfulness, and the best which the house can afford is immediately placed before him. A difference in religion makes no difference in the real or the hearty welcome which is given."

The above described prosperity and hospitality had been largely shared in by Father Ryan who had been a leader and was largely responsible for the happy condition of his people. His large two story brick house with an open fire in nearly every room, his finely cleared acres, his well ordered barns, his orchards of selected fruits, even to this day testify, bear silent witness to the industry and hospitality of the good priest long since gone to his reward. When we go over his farm and home today we are told by the descendants of the early settlers, that Father Ryan was ever on the lookout for the coming of a new family to his parish; that he would enquire from what country they came, and how long they had been on the way? We are told that they were taken into his home, made welcome, given employment on his place, either tilling the soil or building the well constructed stone walls which yet surround these fields of the long ago. If these deserted halls, if these now fireless fire-places, if these stones, could speak, how mmany anecdotes of Irish wit, how many humorous stories of Irish life, of that beautiful peasantry when at its best, would they not tell us! how edifying would they not be, coming as it were from our early ancestry across the ages!

When Bishop Fenwick came to visit Father Ryan in July, 1832, on beholding the wonderful increase in population and prosperity which reigned in the colony, he urged that a church more in keeping

with their present happy circumstances be erected. In responding to the expressed wishes of his Bishop, there was as usual little delay on the part of Father Ryan and his people. The construction of the present parish church at Whitefield was commenced the following year, and continued so rapidly that a passing observer was able to report in March, 1834, that "The Catholics of Whitefield, in the State of Maine, have already their new Church roofed in, which will be completed without delay. They have indeed done themselves much credit in the size and solidity of the building which they have undertaken, and which we are informed is one of the largest in the State.

About 1840, Father Ryan was transferred to Rhode Island, where he had charge of the Catholic people in Pawtucket and Providence. We note his presence at the laying of the corner stone of St. Patrick's church, Providence, July 13, 1841, and that he was in charge of this church from September, 1841, until July, 1842, his being the happiness to celebrate the first Mass in the new church on Christmas day, 1841. During his pastorate in Rhode Island, Father Ryan lived in or near Pawtucket where he officiated regularly in the recently erected church which bore the name of St. Dennis, On the close of his days as pastor of Providence and Pawtucket, Father Ryan again returned to his former parish at Whitefield to remain until his departure for the West in 1848. Data at our disposal do not render clear the chain of circumstances which led to his going West. appears, before going permanently, he had already visited the western section of our country then being opened up to colonization, going (in 1843) "via the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes, taking with him his little niece, Mary Ryan. This niece later became the wife of John Kinsella and mother of the founders of the Kinsella Glass Company of Chicago, Francis D. Kinsella, John J. Kinsella and J. Edward Kinsella, Father Ryan and his charge traveled from Chicago to Dubuque, Iowa, and back by stage. As there were no bridges, they were compelled to ford rivers and were delayed several days at a time waiting for high waters to recede. That great movement of humanity which has culminated in the Great West and its metropolis, Chicago of today, was then sensed in a way by Dennis Ryan, who easily saw possibilities no longer possible in the East. Since quite a number of his immediate family looked to him for guidance, and because he saw in the West opportunities far more advantageous than they could hope for in New England, it was quite natural for him, on his return to Whitefield, to seek his release from the Bishop of Boston, or at least to obtain a permit which would enable him as a priest to leave his parish and take up his duties in another diocese.

The great influx of Catholic people to Illinois at this date rendered it practically impossible for the Bishop of Chicago to supply their needs. Hence when it was reported to Bishop Quarter of Chicago, that a priest from the East had arrived at Lockport, he at once appointed him pastor of this place and many neighboring missions. But to build a church and again establish himself as he had done in Whitefield, must have been no small problem for a priest now advanced in years; for we must remember that Dennis Ryan had now seen over thirty years of strenuous life in the priesthood, about all of which had been devoted to building up the missions of the Church in Maine. Nevertheless whatever energy he still retained was freely given to his new task, and we see him taking a hand in the work just the same as he had done during his younger years at Whitefield. Settled at Lockport, Illinois, his parish now extended from Chicago to Morris, Illinois, comprising a large section in which there are many parishes today. The church which Father Ryan erected at Lockport, and on which he worked himself helping to hew the timbers, yet remains and is in use as a Sisters' school.⁵

⁶ The following is part of a record made in the parish register of St. Patrick's Church, Joliet, Illinois:

REGULATIONS MADE BY THE BISHOPS OF THE DIOCESE RELATING TO THE CHURCH OF JOLIET, MAY 14, 1850.

"1st. Rev. Mr. Hamilton will attend the Church of Joliet every Sunday—say two Masses—sing the last, and give Vespers and Benediction—and such devotional exercises as will promote piety among the people.

2nd. Rev. Mr. Ryan will attend the congregations dependent on Joliet, viz., Lockport, twice a month, and Dresden and Cass Precinct, each once a month—the Sag may be attended on week days.

3rd. Rev. Mr. Hamilton may attend Twelve Mile Grove and Wilmington on week days.

4th. Both priests will be entitled to their own respective perquisites, to be employed as they may deem proper.

4th. Pew-rents will be divided into three shares—one share or third of the whole to go to the support of each priest; and the other third to liquidate the debt of the Church, or to repair or improve it.

Rev. Mr. Hamilton will use his exertions and influence to have the debts of the Church paid as soon as practicable—and may, if he chooses, appropriate any portion of his perquisites, and the Sunday collections—after providing the altar with wine and candles.

Rev. Mr. Hamilton will have the power of appointing a committee of three men whom he may select to aid him in the temporal concerns of the Church—if he deem it proper to do so.''

Original text in Baptismal Records of St. Patrick's Church, Joliet, Ill., copied by Rev. Joseph P. Morrison, Assistant Pastor of St. Patrick's Church, January 5, 1923. There are numerous entries and references in the Church Records of the old churches in the neighborhood made by or referring to aFther Ryan.

Unlike many who enter the priesthood, Father Ryan was gifted with no small natural ability, having great aptitude for mechanics. As a pioneer this talent enabled him to use his less favored parishioners to advantage, and hence to further his work. He could show them how to hew and frame a building, make bricks, or run a sawmill, all of which he did while at Whitefield, and which he undoubtedly continued during the few remaining years of his life at Lockport, Ill. "In these days," remarks one of his relatives, J. Edwards Kinsella, of the firm of John J. Kinsella & Co., Chicago, "buggies were very scarce; he made one. The woodwork was done by himself, the iron work was done by a blacksmith." Hard manual labor, long fasts, and missionary labors of a long priestly career at last wrecked the robust constitution of Dennis Ryan, and left him an easy victim to Cholera which attacked and carried him to an early grave, August 28th, 1852.

In an old copy of the Boston Pilot under date of September 25, 1852, we find the following account of the passing of this pioneer priest, the first ordained in New England.

"DEATH OF THE REV. DENNIS RYAN"

Intelligence has reached us of the death of this venerable priest. He formerly lived in North Whitefield, Me., where he was endeared to the people of that place for his many excellent qualities. The letter announcing this sad intelligence, says: "I regret to have to communicate to you the death of a venerable old priest, a missionary in your Diocese for many years, the Rev. Dennis Ryan. He departed this life on the 28th of August last at his brother's residence near Lockport, in the Diocese of Chicago. Rev. G. A. Hamilton, pastor of Joliet, administered to him the last Sacraments, and the Rev. M. O'Donnell attended him during his last moments. I went to see him about ten days previous to his death and during my visit he arranged all his temporal affairs. His death was that of a holy priest, who labored long and usefully in the vineyard of Christ, leaving this life full of years and merit. I am informed that he died at the age of 66—38 years of which he labored in the Holy Ministry."

All that was mortal of Dennis Ryan, pioneer missionary in Maine and Illinois, now rests beneath a simple cross in the cemetery at Lockport, Illinois, but his immortal soul, let us fondly pray, had long since passed to the society of his Creator, and that of his many sainted parishioners.

(REV.) JOHN E. KEALY.

Lewiston, Maine.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN ILLINOIS

It has been said that the greatest institutional contribution that America has made, and probably the greatest she will ever make to the civilization of the world, is her system of public education. Nowhere else do teachers show so strong a desire for self-improvement, parents so great a determination that their children shall take advantage of the opportunities offered, or citizens so great a willingness to bear the necessary expense. While such an institution is inherent in the American doctrine of "equality of opportunity" for every one, regardless of race, sex or creed, its development has been so rapid as to tax to the utmost the resources of every community in America. Is there then a place for private endeavor in the field of education?

Manifestly it is impossible for the overtaxed public schools to provide for their students either the physical equipment, the teaching staff, or the personal supervision that increasing numbers of parents are desirous their children should have. If all other considerations were waived, this fact alone would create for the private school and college a permanent place in American institutional life. But their longevity is assured for other potent reasons. The complete separation of church and state is axiomatic in American political philosophy hence, all religious and many of the deepest spiritual problems of the race can not be incorporated into the curricula of the state-controlled schools. It therefore behooves the Church herself to maintain centers of learning for the propagation of these spiritual elements that are fundamental in human life. The Church has been divinely appointed to "teach all nations," and we therefore find that she has never failed to encourage most earnestly Catholic education. To such an extent has this been done in our country that the Catholic school is one of the outstanding moral facts in the United States. During 1920, 1,981,051 children were educated in Catholic schools. During the same year, 23,250,000 children were educated in the public elementary schools at a cost of \$950,000,000.2 Besides paying their proportionate share for the maintenance of public education, Catholics carry the financial burden of supporting their own school system.

² Ibid., p. 81.

¹ Catechism of Catholic Education, Bureau of Education, N. C. W. C., p. V.

Ever since Catholic education came to Illinois with Father Marquette, S. J. in 1673 when he passed through the entire state, preaching to and teaching the natives at what is now Peoria and Utica, we find that the Church has been zealous in her work of education. The Jesuits established in 1721 in Kaskaskia what is known in history as the Jesuit College, and thus became the first school teachers of the Illinois country. The first school organized on a rather extensive scale was in the early part of the nineteenth century by a company of Trappist Monks, and was located a few miles east of what became St. Louis. This was a free school; the student body consisted of boys and girls, the number running into the hundreds. In 1833 the Visitation Nuns opened the first academy in Mid-America at Kaskaskia, and thus became the pioneers of higher education for women. Bishop Quarter in 1844 gave to the people of Chicago and the great Middle West the first institution for higher education of men. From this time on we find that education developed rapidly, and that Illinois has ever since been regarded as pre-eminent in Catholic education. The School Census of 1920 places the State as third in Catholic school enrollment.3 Three to four generations of the residents of Illinois have had an opportunity of attending Catholic schools.

It is not the purpose of this article to enter into the history of the Catholic educational institutions of the State, as this was done admirably in a previous article on Catholic Education in Illinois.⁴ Repetition will, therefore, be avoided as far as the completeness of the present article will permit.

There have been various investigations and reports made on the condition of Catholic as well as public education throughout the United States, foremost among the former being that of the Bureau of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Council, briefly summarized in "A Catechism of Education." It is the purpose of this article to summarize for the readers of the Review the results of a study of Catholic education in the State of Illinois. The work of collecting statistics is generally conceded to be tedious, as it is very difficult to obtain exact data. The Official Catholic Directory shows various inconsistencies, especially in the number of students given in the Recapitulation at the end of the dioceses, the same number being given for several years in succession. The state of uncertainty becomes even greater when comparing various

⁸ Tbid., p. 11.

ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. 4, pp. 339-354.

authorities for the same data. Thus the Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools published in 1921 does not fully agree with the Official Catholic Directory for the same year. If we look at the number of parochial schools in these publications for Chicago, we find that the Official Directory shows 281 while the other gives 285. The number of pupils enrolled also differs. One source has 138,600, while the other has 140,881. The data for the Diocese of Alton also show a disagreement. The Official Directory gives the number of parochial schools as 67, while the Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools gives but 65.

Table 1 shows the decennial growth in the number of parochial schools and the increase in the number of children enrolled in the parochial schools of the State from 1873-1923. Table 2 gives the same data for the years 1913-1923 inclusive. The tables have been arranged by Dioceses and for reliability are dependent entirely upon the accuracy of the Recapitulation given at the end of the Dioceses in the Official Catholic Directories for the various years.⁵ All statistics for the parochial schools have been taken from the Official Directory. It will be noticed that because of the magical growth of Chicago and the surrounding suburbs, the Archdiocese maintains a large percentage of the Catholic Schools of the State, and, consequently of the enrollment. In 1923 for instance, it comprises 289 or 52.9 percent of the total 546 parochial schools of the State, with an enrollment of 147,255, 76.5 percent of the total State enrollment. As early as 1890, during the administration of the Most Reverend Patrick A. Feehan, D. D., who was known as the "Patron and Apostle of Catholic Schools," it was conceded that the attendance at Catholic schools in the Archdiocese was larger than in any other diocese in the United States. One of the first statements by the Most Reverend G. W. Mundelein, D. D. after his installation as Archbishop of Chicago regarding the diocese and his proposed work therein was with reference to the development of the parochial school system. His Grace strengthened the organization of the parochial schools, unified the methods of teaching and textbooks, and by an episcopal order required the branches included in the curriculum to be taught in English in every school.

⁵ The Catholic Directory for 1873, after enumerating the parochial schools and attendance in the Archdiocese of Chicago, adds: There are many other schools in charge of religious communities.

1913 1914 1915 1916 1917 1917 1918 1919 1920 1921 1922 1923	Year				1923	1913	1903	1883	1873	4		
227 246 256 250 260 279 281 281 281 281	Parochial Schools	CI			289	227	166	86	52	Parochial Schools	Q	
105,898 107,750 109,162 110,860 114,092 118,215 124,287 124,287 124,287 124,287 124,287 124,287 124,287 124,287	Pupils	Chicago		T.	147,255	105,898	45,103 67 291	25,004	13.494	Pupils	Chicago	T.
66 68 67 67 67 67 64	Parochial Schools	A		TABLE 2.	64	66	67 C	100	60	Parochial Schools	+	TABLE 1. Fo
9,317 10,113 10,309 10,480 10,524 10,562 10,762 10,762 10,465 10,633 11,303	Pupils	Alton		NUMBE	11,303	9,317	7,000	10,000	8.909	Pupils	Alton	Ħ
77 80 80 76 77 74 74 74	Parochial Schools	Bell		R OF I	78	77	55 67	:::		Parochial Schools	Bell	YEARS
10,000 10,226 9,749 10,205 10,205 10,212 10,113 10,269 10,699 10,699 10,821 11,206 11,843	Pupils	Belleville	191	LLINOIS	11,843	10,000	6,175			Pupils	Belleville	LLINOIS 1873, 18
888877557575 7557575 8888775575 8888755	Parochial Schools	Н	1913 - 1923	Paroci	200	70	000	36		Parochial Schools	ы	Paroc. 83, 18
11,152 12,505 12,597 12,647 13,121 13,020 13,722 14,509 14,509 14,623 15,344	Pupils	Peoria	83	NUMBER OF ILLINOIS PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS AND ATTENDANCE	15,344	11,152	8,500	5,900		Pupils	Peoria	NUMBER OF ILLINOIS PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS AND ATTENDANCE THE YEARS 1873, 1883, 1893, 1903, 1913 AND 1923
26 28 28 29 29 31 31 31 31 31	Parochial Schools	Roc		STOOP	లు	26	:	: :		Parochial Schools	Roc	100LS .
4,219 4,605 4,730 5,198 5,714 5,723 5,937 6,205 6,476 6,668	Pupils	Rockford		AND AT	6,668	4.219	:	: :		Pupils	Rockford	AND AT
466 495 507 510 526 530 533 533 546	Parochial Schools			TENDAL	546	362 466	290	222	110	Parochial Schools		ATTENDAL 1923
140,586 145,199 146,597 149,390 153,663 158,220 164,550 166,460 185,541 192,413	Pupils	Total		NCE	192,413	93,345 140,586	64,838	40,904	99 409	Pupils	Total	NCE
4,613 1,498 2,783 4,273 4,273 6,330 1,912 14,730 6,872	Annual Increase	Incr. Atte			51,827	28,507 47,251	23,937	18,501		Periodical Increase	Incr Atte	
22 22 32 11 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	Percent Annual Increase	Increase in Attendance			36.9	43.9 50.6	58.5	82.6		Percent Periodical Increase	Increase in Attendance	

According to the Religious Census of 1916 there are 1,171,381 Catholics in Illinois, or 18 percent of the total population of 6,485,280, as given in the 1920 Census.⁶ The Official Directory for 1917 gives the following figures which represent the Catholic population in 1916. For comparison, the figures from the 1923 Directory are contrasted with those of 1917.

1917	19238
Chicago1,150,000	1,150,000
Alton 87,000	87,000
Belleville 71,838	73,200
Peoria 115,550	119,182
Rockford 58,199	60,918
	-
Total	1,490,300

It is evident that the figures representing the totals are not reliable, and that the increase far exceeds the 7,713 which is credited to the Dioceses of Belleville, Peoria and Rockford. The Catholic population of the Archdiocese of Chicago is not given in the 1908 Directory, but beginning with 1909 up to and including 1923, the total Catholic population of the Archdiocese is given as 1,150,000. According to figures received from the Department of Public Instruction at Springfield, the total number of pupils in the elementary schools of the State was 1,086,111 at the close of the 1921-1922 scholastic year. Table 1 shows the parochial schools of the State as having had an enrollment of 192,413 for the same year, amounting to 17.7 percent of the total elementary public school enrollment.

At sight of such facts, let us consider the cost of the education of a child attending the elementary school, or, what amounts to practically the same thing, how much does our Catholic population expend for educational purposes, besides paying their proportionate amount of taxes for the upkeep of the public schools? In 1920, according to the Bureau of Education, National Catholic Welfare Council, the cost of educating one child in the elementary public school in the United States approximated \$40.9 According to "Digest of a Study of Public Education Costs," prepared by N. B. Henry under the direction of the Committee on Education of the Chicago Association of Commerce, the cost of educating one child in the

^e Fourteenth Census of the U.S., p. 1050, Table 7.

⁷ See the Recapitulation at the end of the respective dioceses in the Official Catholic Directory.

⁸ Do.

[°] Computed by dividing the total expenditures for elementary schools, \$950, 000,000, by the number of children in the elementary schools—23,250,000. Catechism of Catholic Education, p. 81.

elementary schools of Chicago in 1920 was about \$51.35,10 while for the entire State of Illinois the expenditures approximated \$63.1511 per pupil or \$10.96 per inhabitant. On the basis given for the United States (\$40.00) the cost of educating the 166,462 children attending our parochial schools in Illinois in 1920 would have amounted to \$6,658,480. On the same basis the cost of educating 192,413 children for the year just elapsed (1922-1923) would be \$7,696,520. To the number of children educated in the parochial schools should be added for this computation the number of children receiving elementary education in academies maintaining grammar grades in addition to the high school course (see List of Secondary Schools and Enrollment), approximating 4,000 exclusive of the number previously included in the enrollment in the parochial schools and exclusive also of the high school pupils, making a total of 196,413 pupils educated in Catholic elementary schools in Illinois for the year 1922-1923, raising the cost to \$7.856,520. According to the Digest quoted, the cost per pupil in the elementary schools in Chicago for 1922 was \$67.9312; at this rate the additional cost to the City of Chicago of providing education for the 126,469 pupils in the 210 parochial schools of the City would be \$8,581,039. In addition to this it may be considered that of the 381,988 pupils in the Chicago public schools other than continuation of students, 76,469 including 20.4 percent of the total number of elementary public school pupils are without regular seats.¹³ The cost of maintaining the public schools of Chicago nearly equals the expenditures of the city of Chicago for all other corporate purposes.14 However, the cost of educating a child in the parochial school is far less than that in the public school. It is estimated that two or three pupils can be maintained in the former for every one in the latter. This is mainly due to the fact that teachers in the elementary public schools receive a salary far exceeding that of the teachers in our own schools, and that the expenditures for the general control, operation and maintenance of the Catholic schools are kept as low as economy combined with the highest type of efficiency will permit.

Here one may be tempted to ask how the religious teachers compare with the lay teachers in the public schools. As regards the professional preparation of teachers, Dr. P. P. Claxton, former U. S.

¹⁰ P. 11, Table III. The Digest quoted.

¹¹ Ibid., Table V.

¹² Ibid., p. 21.

¹³ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 22.

Commissioner of Education, states that half the total number of public school teachers have gone beyond the eighth grade; but onesixth have two years more; and one-third four years additional. Half the number have thus had no particular preparation whatsoever. 15 Although this estimate applies to all public school teachers, yet from it we may draw conclusions regarding the teachers in the public schools of Illinois. According to the statistics quoted in "The Education of Teachers in Fourteen States''16 the total number of teachers in public schools in the United States in 1918 was 650,000; the 180,394 teachers included in the given statistics represent between one-quarter and one-third of all the public school teachers in the country. The group is representative of different parts of the country, and would indicate that if all the years of complete training were distributed evenly among all the teachers, the resulting figure would approximate one and one-fourth years of training. 16 percent of the teachers in the public schools of Illinois are college graduates, 20 percent are normal-school graduates and 64 percent are not graduates of either normal school or college. The average number of years per Illinois teacher of completed training beyond high schools is 1.054, obtained by multiplying the number of college graduates by four and the number of normal-school graduates by two, and then dividing the sum of these two products by the total number of teachers.

Although we have no exact statistics of the Catholic School System as a whole, it can be fairly estimated that of the 41,581 teachers in Catholic elementary schools, 75 per cent are graduates of high schools or have had considerable high school training, at least 50 per cent have had formal teacher training, and practically none are teaching today without a considerable amount of preparation acquired in the classroom and by attendance at summer courses. Exact figures with reference to the professional training of Catholic school teachers in Illinois are not available, but it may be assumed that they would not differ widely from those of the neighboring State of Wisconsin. In an article, "The Certification of Teachers in Wisconsin," it is pointed out that in the State of Wisconsin 42.6 per cent of teachers reported have training above high school; 37 per cent have more or less college training; 19.1 per cent have professional training other

¹⁵ Quoted in the Catechism of Catholic Education, p. 32.

¹⁶ Journal of Educational Research, Vol. III, pp. 161-172.

¹⁷ Catechism of Catholic Education, p. 32.

¹⁸ Proceedings, C. E. A., 1919, p. 230.

than Catholic community normal; 74.5 per cent have high school training, and 25.2 per cent hold certificates.

Catholic education differs fundamentally from secular education. and this difference must reveal itself nowhere more strikingly than in the formation of the teacher. Catholic teacher training, being but one phase of Catholic education, must be guided by what Catholic philosophy teaches concerning the origin and destiny of man, the nature of the human mind, and Catholic doctrine concerning the nature of truth. On all of these points Catholic teaching is explicit, and no educational practices may be adopted that clash therewith. We can not teach one branch according to Christian principles, and another on the basis of naturalism. If, in the Catholic scheme of education, all sciences grow out of religion, in which they find their source and ultimate meaning, then surely no exception can be made in the name of the science we call pedagogy. We need teachers developed in the spirit of Christian principles who, in every method that they follow and in every device that they use, will be showing forth the truth that is in them. We do not judge a Catholic teacher solely by his skill in teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, and his ability to handle a class. We expect such skill, to be sure; but we are primarily interested as to whether he teaches reading, writing, and arithmetic, and manages his class in a manner so as to bring his pupils nearer to God. Pedagogical skill is necessary, but it is the spirit that counts most. This spirit is not acquired at the feet of masters who know not Christ. We therefore find that the various religious communities place great stress on the training of their teachers, and that, wherever feasible, they maintain their own normal schools.

These religious normal schools are centers of learning, and exercise their influence not only over small areas such as districts or counties, but over dioceses and states. Many of the teaching communities are inter-state in their activities, and the call of obedience not seldom carries with it into the new field of labor where rural or local conditions keep problems on a lower plane, higher urban standards. Even independent of the special teacher training, known to comprise all that is leading and best, the religious life involves a training and knowledge of oneself and consequently of human nature which can not be approached by the newer stereotyped presentation of courses in psychological study.

Aside from all other advantages possessed by the religious teacher over the secular teacher, it may be pointed out that membership in a teaching religious community, since it is permanent, necessarily in-

volves a progressive preparation for teaching. This is impossible for the ordinary lay teacher who must begin his work at an early age, and who ordinarily will not continue it for more than a few years. The great majority of public school teachers are under twenty-one. Of the 600,000 teachers in the United States, about 150,000 serve two years or less, and 300,000 not over four or five years. The average teaching life of a public school teacher is four and a half years. According to Dr. Strayer of Columbia University, 140,000 teachers, or one in five, left the profession in 1919, and one in every ten is young and inexperienced.¹⁹ Catholic teachers frequently begin teaching as young as public school teachers. They do not, however, leave the profession. The Catholic School System, therefore, has no "age problem." There are no available statistics, but it can safely be asserted that 75 per cent of the Catholic school teachers are above the age of twenty-five. Of this 75 per cent, at least 50 per cent are above the age of thirty.20 There is no need of pointing out what this means in stabilizing education and in maintaining a high quality of instruction.

As may be seen from this review of our Illinois parochial schools, the institution is one of which we may justly be proud. The system secures for the various schools: freedom, cohesion, and unity: freedom in the selection of subjects, teachers, etc.; cohesion, for all are working with the same definite end in view; unity, for they are united on the necessity of religious education, on fundamental principles and methods, etc. The teachers, though belonging to various religious communities, all aim at true moral education; they all arrange their staffs of teachers and curricula as best suits their purposes. It may, therefore, be said that the day is far hence when every well-meaning citizen will cease to look with favor upon the private, parochial school.

CATHOLIC SECONDARY EDUCATION IN ILLINOIS

For several years past, educators and business men charged with the management of school funds have been much concerned about the growth of the high school system, or rather the increase in the expenditures for the public high school system. In 1890 one in ten of the population reaching high school age entered high school; in 1922 one in three of the population reaching high school age entered high school.²¹ It has been pointed out that during the twelve years

¹⁹ Catechism of Catholic Education, p. 33.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 34.

²¹ Digest of the Study of Publication Costs, p. 7.

the greatest increase in high school enrollment has been in that of the third and fourth years, which not only means that more pupils are entering the high school, but that more are completing the course. While the cost of public elementary education has a little more than doubled in 1920 over 1910, college education something less than trebled, the cost of high school education has increased almost five times the amount expended in 1910.22 The per pupil current cost of high school education in Illinois rose from \$60.69 in 1912, to \$128.91 in 1922, an increase of \$68.22, or an increase of 112.4 per cent.23 This increase in cost corresponds well to the increase in the enrollment, 111.92, for the ten-year period from 1911-1921, while the increase in the elementary enrollment was but 12.61 for the same period.24 In Chicago the elementary public schools increased 30.2 per cent for the ten-year period, while the membership in the high schools of the city increased 145.1 per cent.25 The cost per pupil in high schools in Chicago for 1912 was \$80.21; for 1922, \$124.26. The average increase in the number of high school buildings was one-half of one a year since 1912. To provide for the increase in membership, one high school building of a capacity of 2,780 pupils must be built annually, assuming that the old buildings retain their full school membership, which is hardly likely. Even at this, 17.2 per cent of high school pupils in the city of Chicago are without regular seats.26

In view of such figures, it may be said that Catholic high schools, as a distinct institution in the American Catholic school system, are just beginning to develop. Elementary schools, under the impetus of bishops, and colleges, under the impetus of religious orders, are already well advanced. The time has now come for the high school to attain its full growth.

It may be pointed out with a certain pride that Catholic secondary education in Illinois has not only begun to develop but that it has attained considerable growth. The writer attempted to tabulate the number of secondary schools for the enrollment for ten-year periods from 1873 to 1923, as done for the elementary schools, Table 1, and the annual increase from 1913 to 1923, similar to Table 2, but with very discouraging results. The Table showed the same number of students in the colleges and academies for boys in the Archdiocese of

²² Ibid., Table IV, p. 11.

²⁸ Ibid., Table X, p. 19.

²⁴ Ibid., Table XI, p. 19.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 22.

Chicago for 1919 and 1920,27 and also the same number of girls for these two years; likewise the years 1921, 1922, and 192328 give the same numbers without showing any increase, which, beyond doubt, took place. In Peoria also the same number of students is recorded fo rthe years 1919, 1920, and 1921.29 Aside from this difficulty, colleges and academies for boys are classed under one heading, and while it would be possible to separate the total number of students attending these two classes of schools by making an accurate count of the students in the various departments of the institutions, this is not possible in the case of academies for girls. Practically all academies are-or have been-maintaining an elementary department alongside of the high school department, and in no instance is there a distinction recorded in the total number of pupils enrolled. Such data were possible, however, for the current year, and the List of Catholic Secondary Schools of Illinois, with Enrollment, gives the results of inquiries and questionnaires sent to the various schools. With very few exceptions the questionnaires have been returned; where this was not done, the enrollment was estimated from the Official Catholic Directory for 1923 and the Directory for Catholic Schools and Colleges, 1921, and while the figures are therefore not absolutely correct, it is thought that they are as accurate as most data similarly collected. According to this list there are 6,707 boys and 9.879 girls in attendance at Catholic high schools and academies throughout the State, making a total of 16,586, while 4,348 pupils are enrolled in the elementary departments of the various academies. Taking the Illinois per pupil current cost of high school education for 1922, \$128.91, the cost of providing high school education for the 16,586 pupils in the Catholic high schools of the State would be \$2,138,101.26.

While the number is but 8.6 per cent of the total 1923 Catholic elementary school enrollment, the number of Catholic children attending high schools is considerably greater. It is to be remembered that the tuition is several times greater in the Catholic high school than in the parochial school, and that Catholic high schools are not everywhere established. We might, therefore, be safe in assuming that an additional 2 per cent are attending the public high schools of the State.

²⁷ See the Recapitulation at the end of the Diocese in the Official Catholic Directory, 1919 and 1920.

²⁸ See the Recapitulation at the end of the Diocese in the *Official Catholic Directory*, 1921, 1920, 1921.

²⁹ See the Recapitulation at the end of the Diocese in the Official Catholic Directory, 1919, 1920, 1921.

CATHOLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF ILLINOIS, WITH ENROLLMENT

1923 - 1924

ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO³⁰

			Pupils in
	Boys	Girls	El. Dept.
Academy of Our Lady (a) (b) (c)		292	110
Academy of Our Lady of Providence (a) (b)		650	
Academy of the Sacred Heart, Lake Forest (a) (c)		63	25
Academy of the Sisters of the Resurrection		25	45
Convent of the Sacred Heart		66	125
De LaSalle Institute (a) (c)	627		
De LaSalle Institute, Joliet (a)	176		
De Paul University, High School Department (a)	755		
Holy Child High School, Waukegan (a)		80	
Holy Family Academy (a)		93	205
Holy Ghost Institute, Techny (a)		41	22
Holy Trinity High School (a)	222		
Immaculata High School (a)		903	
Josephinum High School (a) (c)		130	39
Loretto Academy (a)		117	167
Loyola Academy (a) (c)	470		
Mallinckrodt High School, Wilmette		46	
Maria Immaculata Academy, Wilmette (a) (b) (c)		36	• • •
Marywood School, Evanston (a) (b)		136	68
Nazareth Academy, La Grange (a) (b)		42	98
Notre Dame Academy and High School		200	
Notre Dame Academy, Bourbonnais (a) (b)		4	20
Our Lady Academy, Manteno (a) (b)		27	188
Providence High School, Joliet (a)		49	
Rosary House, River Forest (a) (c)		224	
Sacred Heart Academy, Irwin (b)	7	10	60
SS. Benedict and Scholastica Academy		40	
St. Andrew's High School		40	
St. Angela's Academy, Morris (b)		39	57
St. Augustine's High School	32	68	
St. Anne's Academy, St. Anne		80	
St. Bernard's High School		68	
St. Bridget's High School		56	
St. Casimir's Academy		72	

^{*} Where no address is given, school is in Chicago.

St. Catherine's Academy		210	
St. Columbkille's High School		24	• • •
St. Cyril's College Academy (a) (c)	265	• • •	
St. Elizabeth's High School		153	
St. Francis Academy, Joliet (a) (d)		191	
St. Francis Xavier's Academy (a) (b) (c) (d)		423	195
St. Gabriel's High School	2	20	
St. Ignatius' High School (a) (c)	610		
St. James' High School		191	
St. Joseph's Academy, Kankakee (a) (b) (d)		49	283
St. Joseph's Institute, Joliet	176		
St. Leo's High School		172	
St. Louis Academy (a) (b)		73	261
St. Mary's High School (a) (c)		850	
St. Mel's High School	465		
St. Michael's High School (Boys)	50		
St. Michael's High School (Girls)		70	
St. Patrick's Academy (a) (b)		200	250
St. Patrick's Academy, Momence		28	186
St. Patrick's Boys' High School	423	•••	
St. Patrick's Girls' High School	***	50	
St. Patrick's Commercial High School (d)	37	44	
St. Philip's High School	240	532	
St. Philomena's High School	10	37	• • •
St. Procopius College High School, Lisle (a) (c)			• • •
	175	• • •	• • •
St. Rita's College Academy (a) (b) (c)	314		100
St. Scholastica's Academy	109	90	180
St. Stanislaus College Academy (a) (c)	193	100	• • •
St. Thomas the Apostle High School (a) (d)	100	120	
St. Thomas Aquinas High School (b)	100	100	• • •
St. Viator College Academy, Bourbonnais (a)	234	4.45	• • •
Visitation High School (a)		445	
Additional Parochial High Schools given in the Directory			-1.00
of Catholic Colleges and Schools	• • • • •	• • • • • • • • •	17
Diocese of Alton			
17100ESE OF METON			
Academy of St. Teresa, Decatur (a) (b) (d)		50	100
Academy of the Sacred Heart, Springfield (a) (b)	133	119	
Cathedral High School, Alton	62	45	
Nazareth Home High School, Alton (b)		7	12
Quincy College Academy, Quincy (a)	154		
SS. Peter and Paul School, Alton (b)	100		
St. Isidore's High School, Farmersville (a) (b)	30	32	
St. Mary's Academy, Quincy (a) (d)	• • •	90	165
St. Mary's Academy, Mt. Sterling (b)	25	33	62
Ursuline Academy, Springfield (a) (b)		126	150
		80	68
Ursuline Academy of the Holy Family, Alton (a) (b)	• • •	00	00
Additional Parochial High Schools given in the Directory			3
of Catholic Colleges and Schools			0

Diocese of Belleville			
Immaculate Conception Academy, Belleville (a) (b) St. Joseph's High School, Cairo (a) (b)	26	100 50	
St. Teresa's Academy, East St. Louis (a) (b)	• • •	82	5
or outford conteges and sonous			0
DIOCESE OF PEORIA			
Academy of our Lady of the Sacred Heart, Peoria (a) (b)		196	20
Academy of St. Francis Xavier, Ottawa (a) (b)		100	
Corpus Christi College Academy, Galesburg	135		
Holy Family Academy, Beaverville (a) (b)	• • •	24	164
SS. Peter and Paul's School, Nauvoo (a) (b)	12	21	• • •
Spalding Institute, Peoria (a)	165	• • •	• • •
St. Bedes' College Academy, Peru (a)	130	138	298
St. Joseph's Academy, Galesburg (b)	• • •	85	265
St. Joseph's Academy, Philo (a) (b)	14	12	102
St. Joseph's Academy, Rock Island (a)		140	
St. Lawrence Academy, Penfield (a) (b)	19	15	60
St. Mary's Academy, Nauvoo (b)		34	14
St. Mary's Academy, Utica (b)		24	69
St. Mary's High School, Bloomington (a) (b)	31	45	
St. Mary's High School, Champaign (a) (b)	14	30	
St. Paul's High School, Odell (a) (b)	26	30	
Villa de Chantal, Rock Island (a)	• • •	73	96
of Catholic Colleges and Schools			4
Diocese of Rockford			
St. Mary's Academy(St. Charles		60	
St. Mary's High School, Aurora		36	
St. Mary's High School, Sterling (a)	38	52	
St. Raymond's Academy, St. Charles	30		
St. Thomas High School, Rockford (a)	113	167	• • •
Additional Parochial High Schools given in the Directory			
of Catholic Colleges and Schools	• • • • •	• • • • • • • • •	2

⁽a) Accredited to the Illinois State University. Report of the High School Visitor, 1922-1923.

⁽b) Recognized by the Department of Springfield. *Illinois School Directory*, 1923–1924, pp. 65, 66.

⁽c) Accredited to the North Central Association. Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the N. C. A., March, 1923.

⁽d) Affiliated to the Catholic University, Washington. Directory of Catohlic Colleges and Schools, 1921.

The Most Reverend G. W. Mundelein, D. D., Archbishop of Chicago, has planned to organize a chain of twelve high schools for girls, serving all sections of the city and suburbs. Five of these have already been organized, respectively centralized: St. Mary's High School, Immaculata High School, and the Josephinum High School, Chicago; Mallinckrodt High School, Wilmette, and Holy Child High School, Waukegan.

The Official Catholic Directory does not list all the high schools, while the Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools is inclined to exaggerate the number of high schools of the various dioceses and therefore of the State. It includes in its totals various parochial high schools having but one teacher, and, very likely, but one or two years beyond the grades. It is assumed that such schools can not be classed with the four-year high schools, and therefore all parochial high schools which, apparently, maintain but one year beyond the grades have not been included in the list. It is possible, however, that in one or the other instance the school may since have developed into a more complete high school and that it is therefore eligible to mention on the list.³¹

As will be seen from the enumeration of the schools, 61, or 59 per cent of the total number are accredited to the State University;³² 39 are recognized by the Department of Public Instruction at Springfield as conforming to the requirements for four-year high schools of the State;³³ 14 are accredited to the North Central Association of Colleges

³¹ One hundred and four high schools are enumerated. The pupils in the additional 28 parochial high schools are, undoubtedly, included in the total parochial school enrollment.

³² See Report of the High School Visitor, 1922-1923.

³³ According to Section 96, Par. 4, General School Law of the State of Illinois, a "recognized" high school is "any public school providing a course of two or more years of work approved by the Superintendent of Public Instruction." Certificates of recognition are issued to public two-year, three-year, or four-year high schools applying for such recognition and conforming to the requirements established. Private schools are inspected upon request and certificates are issued to those which conform to standards. Such schools have by law the right regarding admission of their graduates to examinations for teachers' certificates. Illinois School Directory, 1923–1924, p. 67.

and Secondary Schools,³⁴ and 5 are affiliated to the Catholic University of Washington.³⁵ Membership in the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools is considered a label of superiority, but the prestige which it exercises should not be exaggerated. The standards are high, and in one or the other case they stand for outward symbols which may exist and do exist in many instances where the actual ability which they are supposed to stand for does not exist, and vice versa. It is, therefore, beyond doubt that while the number of Illinois Catholic high schools accredited to the Association is but 14, the degree of scholarship maintained at many other of the unaccredited schools—unaccredited either because they have not seen fit to seek accrediting or because they have not been able to meet one of the standards—may rank just as high.

The Catholic school is free to set up and control its own traditions. It is, therefore, a splendid laboratory for educational experimentation. Instead of running "true to type" each may develop an individuality of its own. While the public school must receive every student who applies for admission, and must offer a general curriculum designed to meet the individual needs of each, the private institution is free to restrict its activities to a particular field. Hence there is less danger of that deplorable condition—overloading and overcrowding—so frequently criticized by educators.

CATHOLIC HIGHER EDUCATION IN ILLINOIS

The crowning point in the Catholic system of education lies in its colleges and universities. Of the twenty-two Catholic universities listed under the various dioceses of the country, Illinois boasts of two, Loyola and DePaul. The New College Blue Book³⁶ lists twenty-four

Proceedings of the Twenty-Eight Annual Meeting of the Secondary of the North Central States.

Proceedings of the Twenty-Eight Annual Meeting of the N. C. A.

³⁵ Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools, 1921.

^{**} The College Blue Book, 1923., pp. 50-65, also 366-367. See under Junior Colleges for Mallinckrodt College, pp. 314-315, also 366-367.

colleges in Illinois, among which there are five Catholic institutions:

Quincy College and Seminary, Quincy.

Rosary College, Chicago.

St. Francis Xavier College, Chicago.

St. Procopius College, Lisle.

St. Viator's College, Bourbonnais.

St. Bede's College and Seminary, Peru, is also eligible to mention. Our two Catholic universities—Loyola and DePaul—were established in 1909 and 1907 respectively. Both universities are located in Chicago on the North Side, though both have downtown centers for the convenience of students in other sections of the city. These universities have the usual departments of art and science, law, and medicine. Following the example of the leading secular universities of the country, both Loyola and DePaul have established a home study department. In this manner students who are unable to take up residence courses may enjoy the benefits of higher education by means of correspondence and receive credit toward academic degrees; the number of credits which may be offered for courses taken in absentia is, however, limited. A special feature of Loyola University is the School of Sociology, the only Catholic school of its kind in the country. The School of Sociology and St. Ignatius College form the Department of Arts and Sciences and as such it is a member of the North Central Association. For the present year Loyola has 2,472 students registered in the University and employs 131 professors and instructors. The progress and future of the University may be measured by its growth in the number of students, professors, and buildings. In 1922 the Administration Building was erected and in 1923 the Gymnasium, undoubtedly the largest building of its kind attached to any Catholic institution in the country. Plans are under construction for additional buildings, particularly for a library which it at present housed in the Administration Building. De Paul University numbers 2,356 students and 97 professors and instructors. In November, 1923, the university celebrated its Silver Jubilee, and on that occasion the new building for the College of Liberal Arts was dedicated.

Culminating Catholic endeavors in the educational and ecclesiastical field for the Archdiocese of Chicago, as well as for Illinois in general, are represented in the great institution which the Most Reverend Archbishop is creating at Area, a short distance northwest of Chicago. There is no doubt but that this institution will soon become one of the greatest educational foundations in the world. Catholics throughout the country, but particularly those in Illinois, may take just pride in this university and seminary which offers much greater

opportunity for the replenishment of the priesthood and for the raising of standards of education and culture in the Middle West.

Favorable mention might also be made of the various religious seminaries, novitiates, and normal training schools previously referred to, but the limitation placed upon this article will not permit. A mere enumeration of these institutions in the summary may therefore suffice.

Summary		
Parochial Schools		
Pupils in Parochial Schools192,413		
Pupils in Elementary Departments of		
Academies		
Teachers engaged in Parochial Schools:		
Brothers77; Sisters4,494; Lay101 Total 4,672*		
Institutional Schools 14; Pupils 3,918 *		
High Schools for Boys 22; Pupils5,984**		
High Schools and Academies		
for Girls 63; Pupils 8,536 **		
High Schools for Boys and		
Girls		
Total number of		
Total number of High Schools. 104; Pupils 16,701 ***		
Parochial High Schools not included in list, but given in		
Directory of Colleges and Schools		
Total number of young people in Parochial, Institutional,		
and High Schools217,380		
Seminaries 1; Students 630 ***		
Religious Seminaries 7; Students 336 ***		
Religious and Normal Train-		
ing Schools		
Colleges for Men 4; Students 327 ****		
Colleges for Women 2; Students 299 **		
Faculty 99 ***		
Universities		
Faculty 228 ***		
Religious Communities engaged in the work of teaching:		
Fathers15; Brothers2; Sisters54Total 71		

^{*} Official Catholic Directory for 1923.

SISTER JOHANNITA BUEHLER.

^{**} Data for 1923-1924.

^{***} Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools, 1921.

^{****} Partly estimated.

FATHER DE SMET-HISTORY MAKER

Presidential Address of Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., at Meeting of the Jesuit Historical Society of the Middle West.

The last sentence of the last letter ever written by Father De Smet reads as follows: "In my sickly moments I collect materials which may be of great service for the future history of the Missouri Province." The date of the letter is May 12, 1873. Eleven days later the great missionary was dead.

The significance for the present occasion of the words just cited may be said to lie in the circumstance that they reveal the personal interest taken by Father De Smet in a very practical side of the historian's profession. In the course of his eventful career he had helped to make history; and as the day of his earthly life darkened under the shadows of the inevitable night, he busied himself with gathering material that might enable some Jesuit of a later generation to tell the story of the Province which he loved so well and with which his own life story is forever identified. Not only did he collect together scattered manuscript sources for a history of the Missouri Province: he began to compile such a history on his own account. leaving behind him an English narrative of some eighty pages on the pioneer struggles of the Missouri Jesuits. I quote his own words: "Whilst confined to my room by sickness I take great pleasure in my leisure moments in collecting whatever I can concerning the history of the Province. I have commenced at the beginning of our leaving Belgian in 1821, of our coming to Missouri in 1823 with all its traveling incidents and digging the first spadeful of earth on the 31st day of July, 1823, the Feast day of St. Ignatius, of the Novitiate at Florissant. I have already written eighty pages from notes in the archives of the Province, from personal recollections, and from such other information as I am able to obtain" This venture of Father De Smet into the field of history is preserved in the archives of the Province of Missouri, being the earliest English record we possess of the circumstances which attended the coming of the Jesuits to the Middle West in 1823.

Between the distinguished Jesuit, the fiftieth anniversary of whose death occurs this year, and the members of the Jesuit Historical Association of the Middle West a bond of fellowship over and above their membership in the same Province of the Society of Jesus is thus discovered in their common interest in a certain field of study.

Not that Father De Smet was in any characteristic way an historian or even a student of history. He was essentially a man of action, and his busily crowded career with its constant pre-occupation with the present left him scant opportunity to delve into the records of the past. But he had in certain ways the historian's equipment,—wide human interest, skill in collecting and sifting data on any subject that engaged his interest, and above all a gift of literary presentation which probably would alone have brought him distinction had he confined his life-work to the field of authorship. And so, looking back over the years we may with every propriety acclaim Peter John De Smet as one who, were he alive to-day, would with a more than ordinary impulse of his splendidly sympathetic nature wish God-speed to the Jesuit Historical Association of the Middle West.

Though Father De Smet did not engage in historical research or write history in any notable way, he did something better—he made history, and it is a history-maker that I should like to present him to you today.

Major Hiram Martin Chittenden and Albert Talbot Richardson, joint editors of the only critical edition we possess of Father De Smet's letters, do not hesitate to characterize him as "an august figure in our national history." It is a large tribute to pay to any American, but it is a tribute that rests securely on a broad basis of fact. No Hall of Fame, though we must not overlook the statue reared to his memory in his Belgian brithplace, claims his likeness today in marble or bronze; but he is undeniably enshrined in that more authentic Hall of Fame which is the lasting reverence and affection of persons discriminating enough to recognize under whatever disguises the true heroes of our national greatness and to acclaim them accordingly.

The grounds that justify the designation of Father De Smet as an "august figure in our national history" are perhaps principally three: his letters, considered as a revelation to the public at home and abroad of all that was significant in the vast new country lying between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean; his missionary work on behalf of the Indians especially of the Pacific Northwest; and his activities as intermediary, generally in an official capacity, between the Indians of the West and the Federal Government.

The usual designation of Father De Smet's published writings as letters is something of a misnomer. His so-called letters are not so much examples of conventional epistolary correspondence as they are carefully drawn up and often elaborate dissertations or sketches

covering interesting phases of the life of the old West. Considered as literature and apart from the body of geographical and other information which they contain, the De Smet letters merit a high degree of praise. There can be no question that their author possessed literary gifts above the common. It has often been observed of men of action that when they take the pen in hand they reveal at times an unexpected freshness and vigor of expression. This is certainly true of Father De Smet. His literary manner shows a virility and directness that reflect faithfully his own robust and manly nature. In the art especially of accurate and vivid portrayal of nature, animate or inanimate, his writing leaves little to be desired. His descriptive power is indeed his chief literary asset, and to it his letters chiefly owe whatever they possess of effectiveness and charm. Hardly any feature in the physical background against which the life of the old West and Northwest was set is left unnoticed by this keen observer. The buffalo, the bear, the mountain lion, the antelope, the wolf, the polecate, the prairie dog, the rattlesnake, the prairie fire, the forest fire, the tornado, the aurora borealis and Rocky Mountain scenery of whatever kind-all are portrayed with accurate and often graphic touch. A favorite topic of description with Father De Smet was the Missouri River. He knew the noble stream as few white men ever came to know it, having travelled frequently on it in canoe or steamboat from the great falls to the mouth. His attitude towards it was one of deep personal affection. Its snags and sawyers, the dizzy swirl of its yellow and turbid waters, its varying moods, agreeable and disagreeable, the splendid growths of timber that line its banks for hundreds of miles above the mouth—he has pictured it all with a pen as sympathetic as it is true to fact. No Missouri River pilot, it has been said, could have indicated with more correctness, certainly not with more vividness, the perils that beset early navigation on the great water highway of the West. And what he did for the Missouri Father De Smet did in lesser degree for the Columbia. Sources, rapids, the inspiring scenery that lies along its course, and the dangerous bar at its mouth are all touched off with his usual descriptive skill. Rivers, indeed, with the intimate part they played in the drama of frontier life, seem to have made a particular appeal to Father De Smet's imagination. His letters picture for us, besides the Missouri and Columbia, the Colorado, the Athabasca, the Saskatchewan, the Platte, the Yellowstone, and other streams of minor note.

Father De Smet's happy handling of descriptive themes was of course largely due to the fact that he had an open eye for all the interesting aspects of the new lands through which he passed. A love of nature, an amateur's interest in the fauna and flora that come under one's observation are not necessary details in the equipment of the successful missionary. And yet we find with surprising frequency the missionary playing the role of naturalist and even making noteworthy contributions to the world's fund of scientific knowledge. The seventeenth and eighteenth century Jesuits brought to the notice of the European public more than one of the great natural resources of the New World. Their nineteenth century successors carried on the tradition. Father William Stanton, to cite one instance, was an enthusiast in entomology. He did more than play with the science; he made discoveries of distinct value within its range, both in the Philippines and in British Honduras, where he contracted the mortal illness that brought him to an all too early grave. As to Father De Smet, a keen eye for the wondrous or beautiful in landscape and scenery, and a lively interest in the plant and animal life of the practically unexplored localities through which he passed on his western journies were marked traits in his personality. At Florissant in the twenties he was laying the foundations of his scientific knowledge of later years. Here he found himself filling the post of curator, to use his own phrase, of Father Dzierozynski's museum, the latter being Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Maryland, to which jurisdiction the Missouri Jesuits were attached up to 1831. What or where was Father Dzierozynski's museum, we are not told, though no doubt it was a collection of the old-fashioned type featured principally by mineral specimens, herbaria and mounted insects. Father De Smet proved an efficient curator. In 1827 he sent to the museum seeds of Missouri trees and plants, without however, attempting to identify them by name, as he lacked books for the purpose. He sent other things also, as a specimen of some rare mineral picked up on the Missouri shore near Charbonniere Bluffs. a bit of pierre aimant (lodestone) from the land of the Osage and salt from the "great saline" of the same tribe, "which you did from the earth and which requires no preparation." In 1829 he wrote to Father Dzierozynski: "We lately discovered at a short distance from our establishment [Florissant] a place where the ginseng grows in great abundance. If your Reverence be acquainted with the nature of this plant, I have no doubt but that you will deem it an important discovery. I send you a sample of it, more at your Reverence's pleasure."

After this manner, then, did Father De Smet acquire in his young days an amateur's interest, for it was never anything more, in ntaure

study in its more engaging phases. This interest he developed more and more, as his travels through the Great Plains, the Rocky Mountain region and the Pacific Northwest brought him the opportunity to make known to the public the salient natural features of what were then all but unknown parts of the United States. In 1838 at Council Bluffs he was taking meteorological observations with instruments furnished him by J. Nicollet, a distinguished French scientist and explorer in the service of the United States Government, who commended the accuracy of the missionarie's carefully tabulated work and used it freely in his own published reports.

Father De Smet often turned to map-making as a means of embodying in permanent form the great mass of geographical and topographical detail which he picked up in the course of his travels. While not marked by any degree of technical finish, these maps will always be important historically as being among the earliest attempts made in the field of Western cartography. In 1851, at the request of Donald D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian Affairs for the St. Louis Department, he drafted a map of the Western country for the Government. His maps of the sources of Clark's Fork of the Columbia are particularly interesting pieces of work. Commodore Wilson of the United States Navy, who had himself published a map of the Oregon country, commends one of these sketches in a letter to the Jesuit as supplying the lacunae which his own map showed in regard to the Flathead country. Probably the most interesting of the De Smet maps are those showing the Yellowstone Park region, with many of the important features of that great wonderland, the geysers, for example, clearly indicated. Incidently, it may be noted that Father De Smet's French for geyser (nearly all his map-nomenclature is in that language), is fountaine bouillant, "boiling fountain." These sketches of the upper reaches of the Yellowstone Valley are all the more noteworthy in that they antedate by some twenty years the Washburn expedition of 1870, which first brought the natural wonders of that region to public notice and started the agitation for making it a national park. The description of this same region in a De Smet letter of 1851 is characterizezd by Chittenden and Richardson as the most complete early description of the subject extant." It would indeed have been fortunate," say these authors, "if the park had been set apart on the lines he describes rather than as it was, for it would then have embraced much territory, particularly the Jackson Hole country, which, it is generally conceded, should have been a part of the Park and which is now largely included in recent forest reservations." In this connection it will be of interest to cite a newspaper statement of date early in the fifties: "It must be gratifying to Father De Smet to know that when that country shall have been peopled by an industrious population, his explorations will be spoken of as his predecessors now are in the valley watered by the Father of Rivers and upon the borders of Lake Superior."

Not all the geographical and other information which Father De Smet embodied in his letters was acquired by him at first hand. He managed also to secure valuable data from trustworthy informants, having in his frequent journeying back and forth over the Western country come into contact with and in many cases formed intimate friendships with many of the picturesque figures of the pioneer west. The list of his acquaintances of this type included John McLaughlin, the "Grand Old Man of Oregon," James Bridger, typical frontiersman and founder of Fort Bridger on the Oregon Trail, Major Alexander Culbertson, fur-trader and founder of the historic posts, Fort Benton and Fort Union, E. T. Denig, Assiniboine trader, Robert Meldrum, Crow interpreter, Zephyr Rencontre and C. E. Galpin, Sioux interpreters, F. F. Gerard, Sioux trader, John Grey, hunter, Captain La Barge, Missouri River pilot for thirty years, Captain John Mullen, U. S. A., road-builder, and Robert Campbell, Thomas Fitzpatrick and Andrew Drips, all leading figures in the haleyon days of the fur trade. Many of these furnished Father De Smet particulars of value regarding the Indian tribes or the topography of the country. Bridger, for instance, appears to have been his informant in regard to the Yellowstone Park region, which, as far as I have been able to ascertain, Father De Smet never personally visited.

The name of Jim Bridger is one to conjure with in the history of the old frontier. He guided a party of sightseeing friends to the wonderland of northwestern Wyoming decades before the first Government expedition penetrated thither, while the establishment in 1843 of his port on the Oregon Trail to furnish supplies to the passing emigrants was a turning point as significant as any in the development of the West. He was moreover the first white man, as far as known, to look upon the waters of the Great Salt Lake. Bridger entrusted the education of his halfbread children to Father De Smet, who put them to school at St. Charles, Missouri.

What gives Father De Smet's letters importance from an historical point of view is the circumstance especially that through their medium thousands of readers in Europe and America acquired their first knowledge of the great unopened country west of the Mississippi. Travellers and explorers from Lewis and Clark on had been gradually

unfolding in their published reports the outstanding features of this vast inland empire which (up to the line of the Rockies at least) had been acquired by the United States in the Louisiana Purchase; but in the forties, when Father De Smet's letters were first given to the world, it was still largely a land of mystery. The letters did much to lift the veil. The prairies of Kansas, the high arid plains of western Nebraska and Wyoming, the interlacing valleys and defiles of the Rocky Mountain region, the great fresh water lakes of Idaho and western Montana and the marvelously promising lands of the upper and lower Columbia valleys were themes of absorbing interest which the reader could find filling the pages of the De Smet letters. There too one was introduced to the Oregon Trail, the historic highway par excellence of our national history, over which through two eventful decades poured the sturdy emigrant stock that was to build up the Pacific Northwest and California.

But the part which Father De Smet played as herald to his generation of nature's largeness and wonders up and down the untraveled West is of minor significance as an episode in American history compared to the work he attempted and in part accomplished on behalf of the Indians. Here his achievement assumes all the proportions of a distinct national service. From his lifelong efforts and labors directed towards the humanizing and Christianizing of the Indian tribes of the West resulted a degree of amelioration in the condition of the latter that re-acted favorably on conditions generally west of the Mississippi. The Indians directly, the nation indirectly were the beneficiaries of the long years of humanitarian and religious service on behalf of the former in which he was engaged. Here, then, was the outstanding lifework of De Smet. The connotative richness of the certain names is obvious. Napoleon inevitably suggests military achievement just as Edison suggests scientific achievement and Ford industrial achievement. In like manner the name De Smet spells missionary endeavor and successful endeavor at that on behalf of the native redmen of the United States. Sympathy for the Indian and a determination to promote his welfare in all possible directions were the main inspirational motives of his career and it is chiefly as a friend of the Indian that he will live in history.

Father De Smet's missionary career was but a phase in the continuance of a great tradition. The religious order to which he belonged had identified itself in preceding centuries with apostolic labor among the native tribes of the New World. Moreover, the Missouri Mission, of which he was one of the founders, was set up

primarily for the conversion of the Indians of the West, being the first Indian Mission established by the Society of Jesus in the nine-teenth century. The Belgian Jesuit had therefore years and even centuries of encouragement and inspiration behind him when, at the instance of superiors, he took in hand the winning of the Rocky Mountain Indians to the cause of Christ.

Well nigh all of Father De Smet's life in the United States was spent in St. Louis, which became accordingly the base of operations for the entire series of his missionary undertakings. Around this outgrowth of the Eighteenth century trading post set up by the French on the right bank of the mid-Mississippi gathered in time all the romance and glamor of the frontier life of the Old West. Almost without exception every organized attempt in the pioneer period to penetrate the wilderness that lay toward the setting sun started from St. Louis. From here went forth Lewis and Clark on their immortal expedition to the mouth of the Columbia; Manual Lisa on his fur-trading journeys to the Big Horn Country and the headwaters of the Missouri; Lieut Zebulon Pike on his famous exploring trip that gave the first impetus to the Santa Fe trade; Astor's overlanders on their tragic journey to the shores of the Pacific; and Lieut. Long on his Upper Missouri expedition, from which he brought back the fable of the Great American Desert, a fable that it took more than one generation of American to unlearn. In a word, almost every epic of adventure that marked the passing of the old frontier is written around St. Louis. The Santa Fe and Oregon Trails struck out from Independence and Westport; but their real starting point lay behind them at St. Louis.

In the summer of 1840 Father De Smet, after a journey of several months from St. Louis, gazed for the first time on the snows of the Rockies. He had come thither over the Oregon Trail on a reconnaissance to determine the prospects of missionary enterprise in the land of the Flatheads. The story of the efforts of that mysteriously predestined tribe to secure Catholic missionaries from St. Louis is an unforgettable episode in the history of the West. De Smet met a large contingent of the Flatheads on the far side of the Continental Divide, and without actually entering their country satisfied himself that a beginning of resident missionary work should be made among them. The next year, 1841, saw him pushing westward with a party of missionaries, again over the Oregon Trail, and crossing and recrossing the main ridge of the Rockies until on their Pacific side, in what is now Western Montana, he found himself in the heart of the Flathead country. Here, on the banks of the Bitter Root River, in

a locality traversed thirty-six years before by Lewis and Clark, he established St. Mary's Mission, the earliest center of Catholic missionary effort among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest. Other tribes were in turn evangelized—Coeur d'Alenes, Kalispels, Skoyelpi, Flatbows, Okinagans and Kutenai. The 49th parallel was crossed by the missionaries and the Faith carried to tribes in the forest-fastnesses of what is now British Columbia. Father De Smet himself undertook a highly perilous journey that brought him, for certain stretches on snowshoe and dog-sled, towards the northern sources of the Columbia, back across the Continental Divide, and through the basins of the Saskatchewan and the Athabasca, Fort Augustus on the site of the modern town of Edmonton in Alberta being visited on the way. So was the Cross securely planted by De Smet and his associates among the redmen of the American Northwest. From his day to our own Jesuit workers have never been wanting to carry on the work which they inaugurated. The Flatheads, Kalispels and Coeur d'Alenes, typical mountain tribes, are being ministered to even now by the same Society of Jesus that brought their forefathers under the yoke of Christ.

But the tribes that ranged the Great Plains east of the Rocky Mountains shared also in the apostolic ministrations of De Smet. Almost without exception they severally claim him as the first priest to bear them the gospel tidings. His baptisms are the earliest known to have been administered among the Crows, the Gros Ventres, the Assinniboines, the Cheyennes, the Aricaras, the Arapahoes, and the Poncas.

Marquette felt himself compensated beyond measure for the appalling hardships of his missionary journeys by the baptism of a single Indian child. Measured by this standard De Smet's spiritual consolations must have been abundant. His baptisms of Indians (the recipients in most cases being children in danger of death) ran into the thousands. In the summer of 1851, when he attended the great council near Fort Larramie, his administrations at the various trading posts on the Missouri and elsewhere in the Indian country totaled 1,586. Among the tribes that shared his ministry in the course of this journey were the Brulé and Ogalalla.

The establishment of a Sioux mission was a lifelong ambition of Father De Smet and the last journey which he undertook to the Upper Missouri, that of 1870, had for its object the selection of a suitable site for the Sioux mission post he was hoping to set up in the immediate future. The venture was never realized in his lifetime, though in 1871 Fathers Kuppens and De Meester spent some

months among Sitting Bull's people near the mouth of the Grand River in what is now North Dakota in an unsuccessful attempt to make a permanent residence. It would delight Father De Smet, were he alive today, to see the splendidly organized Catholic missions now being conducted for his beloved Sioux on the Pine Ridge and Rose Bud Reservations of South Dakota.

An so, in the middle decades of the last century, both east and west of the Rockies, the native children of the soil were brought within range of the ministry of the great Blackrobe from St. Louis. We have already noted that the Catholic missionary movement in their behalf, to which Father De Smet gave an initial impulse powerful enough to maintain it in vigor up to this date, bears all the character of a national service of the first order. To have done for the Indians what was done by De Smet and his successors is, we may confidently say, an achievement splendid enough to merit for its authors a foremost place in the roll call of our country's heroes.

One phase of Father De Smet's dealings with the Indians deserves particular notice, for more than anything else in his career it set him in the public eye and made him in an especial way a national figure. This was the role h eplayed on frequent occasions as official intermediary in the interests of peace between the Indian tribes and the United States Government. In 1839, while residing at Council Bluffs, he began his remarkable activities in this direction in a privately undertaken peace mission to the Yankton Sioux, who had been showing themselves hostile to his Potawatomi flock. The remarkable ascendancy which he acquired over many of his tribes, particularly the Sioux, soon came under the notice of the Government, which on repeated occasions solicited his services as agent in its negotiations with disaffected Indian groups on both side of the Rocky Mountains. In 1852 Senator Benton declared that Father De Smet could do more for the Indians, "more for their welfare and keeping them in peace and friendship with the United States than an army with banners." In 1858 the missionary was invited by the Secretary of War at General Harney's request to accompany the latter in his expedition to Utah, nominally as chaplain, but actually that he might use his influence with the Indians along the way. Having resigned his chaplaincy on the abrupt termination of the Utah expedition, he was later in the same year again invited by the Secretary of War to join General Harney's forces now occupied in putting down serious outbreaks among the mountain tribes of the Pacific Northwest. Father De Smet's services on this occasion were noteworthy and the amicable relations promptly established between the Indians and whites were

ascribed by the military authorities largely to his magic intervention. But th emost notable incidents in his career as peace-maker were those connected with his negotiations with the Sioux. In 1864 and again in 1868 his services were employed by the Government to prevent hostile operations on the part of that bellicose tribe. His success on the latter occasion, when he penetrated without an escort to the Sioux camp on the Powder River, was his crowning achievement in the cause of peace. He was informed by the Indians that no white man could have made the hazardous attempt without forfeiting his life. All together, the episode is second to none for dramatic and inspirational quality in the romance of the old frontier. The picture of the great-hearted missionary, robed in his religious garb and going forward to meet the vengeful Sioux, without other arms or protection than a banner having on one side the name of Jesus and on the other the image of the Virgin Mother, is one which the brush of the painter might well immortalize. It is a remarkable fact attested by abundant contemporary evidence, that Father De Smet had but to show himself among the Indians of whatever tribe and in almost preternatural respect and reverence for him seized these undisciplined children of nature.

Captain La Barge, famous as a Missouri River pilot and Father De Smet's lifelong friend, relates that on one occasion when the latter was a passenger on his steamboat, a band of Blackfeet Sioux in hostile mood was discovered hovering along the river bank. Father De Smet asked to be landed that he might quiet them. La Barge objected, fearing for the Father's safety, but as the latter insisted, he finally acquiesed. At the end of the interview the Sioux bade the Father be seated on a blanket, the four corners of which they seized and thus bore him in triumph to the river bank. It was with every reason that Thurlow Weed wrote in introducing him to President Lincoln, ''no white man knows the Indians as Father De Smet, nor has any man their confidence in the same degree.''

It is important in any account of Father De Smet to indicate the close connection in which he stood to the life of the early West. Emerson Hough, than whom no one has written more picturesquely on the subject, gave it as his opinion that the chapters of our national history most highly charged with inspiration and emotional appeal are those which tell the story of the old frontier. As a matter of fact, no war in which we ever engaged brought into play the finer traits of American character to the same extent as did that masterful and triumphant wrestling with the wilderness. The colorful, the romantic, the pathetic, the tragic, the heroic of every degree,—they

all entered as elements into the great drama that was played out on the stage of the trans-Mississippi country from the day that Lewis and Clark pierced the heart of it in their memorable expedition to the day when arteries of steel for travel and traffic first knit ocean to ocean and the frontier as a phenomenon of the western trend of our national development disappeared forever. An it is this drama in which Father De Smet takes his place as a highly interesting and by no means inconspicuous participant. Traders, trappers, voyegeurs, adventurers, gold-seekers, Rocky Mountain guides, Missouri-River pilots, Indian fighters of the United States Army and the Indians themselves,—these were the types with whom he was brought into frequent and intimate association. If he did not come to know certain other early western types as the cow-boy, the cattle king, the rancher and the homesteader, it was only because these came on the stage at a period when he himself had passed on.

To realize how great a span in the development of the West is bridged over by Father De Smet's missionary career, we have only to recall the various methods of transportation which he saw in his day and of which he himself had personal experience. He used saddle-horse, ox-team, canoe, stage-coach and railroad. He lived indeed to see the completion of the first great trunk line linking up the Missouri River with the Pacific Coast, traveling over it in 1868 as far as Cheyenne. The story, then, of western growth is distinctly interwoven with the missionary experiences of Father De Smet. The circumstance adds nothing to the intrinsic dignity and merit of those experiences; but it lends to the personal history of the missionary an element of interest, not to say fascination, which serves to rivet attention in quarters where his purely religious achievements make no particular appeal.

In bringing this address to a close, we may be permitted to repeat that we are well within the facts when we follow the biographers of Father De Smet in designating him as "an august figure in our national history." In various ways, some of which we have attempted to indicate, he lent his energies to the upbuilding of the American Commonwealth, of which it was one of his cherished privileges to call himself a citizen. Through his letters, his life-long activities, missionary and otherwise, on behalf of the Indians, and his frequent negotiations between them and the Federal Government in the cause of peace, he made a contribution of no small value to the agencies that between them achieved the making of the Great West. But he

was not consciously a history-maker nor did he seek through history-making to impress his name on the records of the day. He simply sought to find in the day's work opportunity for realizing the Jesuit ideal of the greater glory of God; and in the persistency with which he pursued that ideal through a long period of years is to be found the chief glory that hangs around his name.

(REV.) GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

St. Louis.

GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS

Spanish American Bibliography.—The student of Spanish American history, in which is interwoven so much of interest to Catholics, will find an important guide to the literature of his subject in Cecil K. Jones' "Hispanic American Bibliographies." Issued in instalments in successive numbers of the Hispanic American Review during 1920 and 1921, this bibliography has now been published in book form (Baltimore, 1922, 200 pp.) with critical notes on the sources by the eminent Chilean authority, José Torebio Medina. The work is arranged geographically, twenty-one countries of Central and South America being represented, including the West Indies. The scope of the work covers biographies, histories of literature, and general books of reference. Mr. Medina says, in his introductory note, "It is the compiler's intention to publish as a second part a more comprehensive and intensive discussion of the material listed and to attempt to express therein a critical evaluation of the most important titles." In reference to native publications of the colonial period the author remarks: "The restrictions and prohibitions imposed upon colonial publishers, as expressed in the 'Recopilation de leyes de los reynos de Indias'-especially the requirement that manuscripts treating American questions should be submitted to the Consejo de Indias for approval—strongly favored publication in the mother country. . . . The importance of the religious orders as colonizing agencies makes the record of their activities an invaluable source of information for the bibliography and biography of the early period."

The "Critical Notes on Sources," translated by Mr. Jones from Medina's "Biblioteca Hispano-Americana, 1493-1810," is the most readable portion of the work. The earliest bibliography treating of Spanish American history in general was that of the Spanish priest Nicolás Antonio y Bernal (1617-1684). The works of several Catholic ecclesiastics figure among the titles of later bibliographies of note. But of most interest to Catholics are the titles of works dealing with the labors of missionaries in the regions of the New World under Spanish rule. The Jesuits are represented by the works of Ribadeneira (1608), Alegambe (1643), Nathan Southwell (1676), Clavigero (1780), Maneiro (1791), Caballero (1814-16), and, far surpassing his predecessors, De Backer's "Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus" (1855-61), of which a much enlarged edition was issued in ten folio volumes by the late Father C. Sommervogel (1890-1909).

A bibliography of the Dominicans by Fernández (1611) has two chapters devoted to the authors of the New World; but the field is better covered by Quétif and Echard (1721). Bibliography of the Augustinians began with Herrera (1644), who was followed by Maldonado (1651), Portillo y Aguilar (1732) who gave a catalogue of 983 authors of the Order, and Moral (1882) who is especially full for the Philippines. The earliest bibliography of note for the Franciscans was San Antonio de Salamanca (1732), followed by Marcellino da Civezza (1879). An incomplete bibliography of the Mercedarians is that of Gari y Siumell (1875).

We may call attention to several works on the bibliography of the monastic orders that have appeared since Medina issued his "Biblioteca." Cabral edited a bibliography of the Benedictines in 1889, new edition in 1906. The National Library of Chile issued in 1891 a catalogue of manuscripts relating to the early Jesuits of Chile. A Sulpician bibliography by Bertrand appeared in three volumes in 1900.

* * *

A California Mission in 1792.—Archibald Menzies' journal, which he kept while accompanying Captain George Vancouver on the latter's famous voyage around the world in 1790-1794, is appearing in extracts in the California Historical Society Quarterly (San Francisco, January, 1924). In November of 1792 members of the expedition paid a visit to the Mission at Santa Clara and were hospitably entertained by the Fathers. The Journal thus describes the Mission at that time:

"The night's repose contributed much to dispurse the pain and fatigue occasioned by the long ride of the preceding day, and after a hearty breakfast the Fathers continued by every means they could think of to amuse them; they first led them to see the Church, which is much larger, better finished and more abundantly supplied with ornaments than that of San Francisco. They then showed them the economy and general arrangement of the Mission which is built in a square form similar to that of San Francisco, one side of which is occupied by young Indians who are educated in the Christian faith, and brought up to different occupations useful to the Settlement. Another side is set apart for manufacturing grey cloth for the Fathers, and a kind of coarse cloth and blankets, for covering the Indians belonging to the Mission and in the manufactory. Women are chiefly employed. The third side is a large granary well stored, and the fourth side is occupied by the Fathers themselves; but they have other spacious granaries apart from these buildings in order to secure by this means a certain resource in case of any accident happening to either by fire or otherwise. These granaries are two stories high and kept in the very best order; they are well stored with every kind of grain excepting barley and oats which they do not cultivate in this country. Their pease and wheat are of an excellent quality, the latter is a fine full bodied grain and generally rewards their labor with a return of five and twenty and sometimes even thirty fold. They have large gardens well supplied with every kind of useful vegetables and corn, most of the European fruit trees, such as Apricots, Peaches, Pears, Vines, Currants, Gooseberries, etc. These Fruits succeeded here better than in any of their Northern Settlements in this country on account, as was supposed, of its inland condition. They also rear hemp, which flourishes well and is of a good strong quality."

Further on we read: "The Missions are always a little removed from the Garrisons and are generally situated in commodious fertile spots, within fifteen or twenty leagues of one another, and round them the whole agriculture of the country is carried on under the care and management of the sagacious Fathers, who have their plows, harrows and teams with oxen industriously employed, and who regulate the rural economy of the farms in all their various branches and dependencies, as well as the more solemn duties of their avocations. The painful constancy with which these abstemious Fathers maintain the religious observances of the Church of Rome in this distant region is a great proof of their indefatigable zeal and uncommon fortitude. . . . Reared up in the paths of virtue and morality under the mild auspices of those worthy Fathers. . . . Proselytes act the part of grateful and affectionate children and gradually become useful members of the community."

The Journal states, in reference to the Mission of Santa Barbara:

"We were told that a thousand dollars was the usual allowance for establishing any of these Missions at first set out and that each of the Fathers received four hundred dollars a year for the support and to procure them necessities."

"Life and Works of the Rev. Ferdinand Konscak, S. J., 1703-1759, an early Missionary in California," by Msgr. M. D. Krmpotic, has been published by the Stratford Company, Boston, 1923. The life is based upon Father Konscak's original letters and gives us an English version—albeit a very poor one—of Konscak's famous explorations in Lower California where the worthy missionary spent twenty-eight of his best years.

First Catholic Church in Muscatine, Iowa.—The earliest place of worship in Muscatine, Iowa, is thus referred to in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July. A pioneer, writing in 1843, says: "There are more than seven hundred people in the town, and there is no meeting-house in the place *except* a small Romish chapel, which opened only occasionally." This chapel is said to have stood at the corner of Second and Cedar Streets, "where, in the rear of the Graham Drug Store, it stands yet." Muscatine, first called Bloomington, was settled in 1836. A French priest named Father Pierre Laurent, spent more than fifty years of his life in the town, ministering to the wants of his flock.

* * *

La Salle's Colony.—"The Location of La Salle's Colony on the Gulf of Mexico," is the title of an article in the January, 1924 issue of the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, written by Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. The article is a reprint of its original appearance in the Mississippi Historical Review for September, 1915. There have been much discussion and conjecture among historians as to the exact site of this colony. Newly discovered records existing in the Spanish archives "simply settle the matter once for all and without argument," writes Professor Bolton, and it is a survey of these new documents that is presented to historical students in the article mentioned. The settlement, made by La Salle in 1690, was supposed by Parkman, H. H. Bancroft and other historians to have been located on the Lavaca River, Texas. The proof showing its true site on the Garcitas River has come to light in a map of the Llanos expedition of 1690, "drawn so accurately that we are able to identify practically every point which Llanos, Salinas and Cardenas visited." The map, which appears in the diary of a member of the Llanos expedition, is reproduced in the article before us. The Garcitas River empties into the Arenoso, which flows into Lavaca Bay, one of the arms of Matagorda Bay, Texas. The records lately discovered consist of the proceedings of a junta or council held in Mexico, August 29, 1690, also a decree of the viceroy dated at Mexico, November 12, 1690, reviewing the action of the Junta and the subsequent preceedings, and lastly, the diary of the expedition.

Georgia and South Carolina.—"The Spanish period of Georgia and South Carolina History, 1566-1702," is the first of a series of Studies issued by the University of Georgia (Athens, Ga., May, 1923), written by J. G. Johnson. Georgia, or Guale as it was first called, and South Carolina, called Santa Elena or Orista, were the scenes of vigorous colonizing movements on the part of Spain before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock or the Ark and the Dove brought the Catholics of Lord Baltimore's colony to Maryland. Menéndez reached the coast of Georgia in 1566 and at the Indian village of Guale a beginning was made by the Spaniards of his party in instructing the natives in the Catholic religion. Three Jesuits, Martinez, Rogel and Villareal, were later sent to Florida but turned back at Cumberland Island when Martinez, their conductor, was murdered by the Indians. In 1568 two Jesuits came to Georgia, mastered the language of the Indians and wrote a grammar. The Jesuits in South Carolina at the same time met with difficulties, were driven to Virginia where they founded a mission—probably on the Rappahanock River—and were finally murdered in an uprising led by Powhatan's father, according to tradition. After 1588 the history of Spanish occupation is, says Mr. Johnson, largely an account of the Franciscan missions and missionaries. They were the real bulwarks of the northern frontier of Florida. San Pedro Mission was established on Cumberland Island. In 1592 there were only five Franciscans in Florida. Father Silva and his companions arrived in 1593, and were followed by other Franciscans who established missions along the coast and on the islands. An insurrection in 1597 led to murder of Father Corpa and Father Rodriguez, and to the destruction of all the Franciscan Island missions. These missions were not restored until 1606. San Pedro, of all the Guale missions, escaped destruction.

Another expedition, made into the interior of Georgia, reached probably Stone Mountain—on which the great sculptures depicting scenes of the Confederacy are now being cut. In 1633 missionaries were sent to the Apalache Indians. "The Spaniards found the mission to be the most useful device for controlling the Indians," writes Mr. Johnson, "and by controlling the Indians it was hoped to ward off further intrusions by the English and French." More Franciscans came to Florida in 1612, 1615, 1630 and later. In 1635 there were said to be 5,000 Apalache converts; but revolts were frequent and trouble with the English began in 1670. The mission development was at its highest point between 1670 and 1675. "There were now thirty-five missions scattered over the provinces

of Florida, serving 20,000 neophytes." The English in Carolina had by 1684 become a serious menace to the missions along the coast of Georgia. St. Catharine's Island mission was sacked. Favor was shown by the English colonists to pirates visiting the coast. Florida by 1690 seemed doomed to abandonment. In 1700 Governor Moore of South Carolina, taking advantage of the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe, moved southward along the coast, the mission for Indians of Georgia was removed to the islands near the capital, the Franciscans were forced to flee, and by 1702 the Spanish régime came to an end.

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL.

Chicago, Ill.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

The Greatest Day in the History of Chicago. The Mayor of the city of Chicago in an address to an assemblage of Chicago people including a large number of children from the public schools of the city called the day of the visit of Father Marquette to the site of the present city, two hundred and fifty years ago, the greatest day in the history of Chicago, and he was entirely correct. This assemblage was held on the banks of the Chicago River near the approach to the great bridge that has been built across the river on Michigan Boulevard and an interesting feature of the program consisted of casting flowers on the waters of the river in commemoration of the passage of Father Marquette and his companions over the river. The meeting was held on the 8th of December, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception.

Because the exercises were beautiful and impressive one hesitates to speak of the distortion of history implied in the date and the place. Father Marquette was not near the Chicago River in December, 1673. He passed down the river with Jolliet and five companions and a youngIndian boy in August, 1673, and returned to the mission from whence he began his journey in September. The next year he returned, landing at the mouth of the Chicago River, which was then at what is now the foot of Madison Street, on December 4, 1674. Here he remained until December 11th when his canoe was dragged up the river on the ice to what is now the junction of Robey street and the Drainage Canal. Accordingly, he was at the mouth of the river, (foot of Madison street) on December 8th, two hundred and forty nine years prior to this observance, 1924, therefore is the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Father Marquette's residence in what is now Chicago. The place of his residence were: December 4th to December 11th, 1674, at the point now marked by the junction of Madison street and the lake, and from December 12th, 1674 to March 29, 1675, at what is now the junction of Robey street and the Drainage Canal.

The observance was appropriate for the passage of the first white men down the Chicago River in 1673, though held three months later in the year. A great pageant should mark the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the residence of Father Marquette in what became Chicago, which will occur this year. Such an observance would appropriately be held on the Lake front and if held on December 8th it would be appropriate as to time for Marquette was actually there on that date.

More than a pageant should be enacted in commemoration of the first white residents of this region, however. A worthy statue should be erected there which would bear testimony to future generations of the most momentous event in the history of Chicago.

The Notable Anniversaries. It cannot be too often repeated that we are living through some very notable anniversary years. 1923, 1924 and 1925 mark the beginning of history and Christianity in the heart of America. These are the anniversaries (250th) of the birth years of Illinois and the entire Mississippi Valley.

Repeating for emphasis: It was in August and September, 1673, that the first white men, Father James Marquette and Louis Jolliet, passed down the Mississippi River, up the Illinois and over the Chicago to Lake Michigan, noting their discoveries and giving their knowledge to the world.

It was in December (4th), 1674, that Father Marquette, in compliance with his promise and fulfilling his intention, landed at the mouth of the Chicago River, then at the foot of what is now Madison Street, Chicago, where he remained seven days, after which he passed up the river and resided on the south branch near what is now Robey Street and the Drainage Canal until the 29th of March, 1675.

And finally, it was on the 11th of April, 1675, that the same Father Marquette, after due preparation established the Church at a point now within the corporate limits of the city of Utica in La Salle County, Illinois.

During 1923, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Father Marquette's first visit was observed and celebrated in various localities. It is natural to expect that during this year the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his residence in Chicago will be appropriately celebrated in Chicago. There are also good reasons for supposing that next year the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Church will be celebrated in Utica and elsewhere throughout Mid-America.

Practical Welfare Work. It may be that the era of practical welfare work is upon us and that ours will be known to history as the generation that solved the most difficult of life's temporal problems.

After many years of study and many more years of agitation the world seems at last to have become alive to the two most distressing incidents of modern civilized life. That is, the problems of indigent old age and of enforced or inescapable unemployment.

Germany, France, England, Sweden and other European nations have passed the stage of argument with respect to these matters long since and are in the operative stage, with varying success. It is perhaps true that Sweden has the most successful system, but all are working towards perfection, the war torn countries very much handicapped of course.

The new world is falling in line. Canada has an admirable system of government welfare benefits touching almost all necessities but especially meritorious in the matter of old age benefits.

The latest American country to take the center of the stage in this sort of work is Argentina, South America. From all reports the Argentinian system as enacted into law is the broadest and most far-reaching of any yet crystallized into legislation. It may be that it is too broad and promises too much since it proposes pensions at the early age of forty-five. It goes without the saying that no more can be paid out of any treasury than is received therein for the purpose and the Argentine plan may be faulty in this respect as its critics charge, but there can not longer be doubt as to the principle being most humane and the movement most praiseworthy.

Several of the States of the United States have gone so far as to adopt laws for old age benefits and we confidently expect that within the next decade every state in the Union will have such laws in operation.

The reason for this advance is not far to seek. It is a man made reason and the result of the working of modern civilization. Do what we will the great majority of men and women will suffer from unemployment and will approach old age without a competence, indeed in many cases wholly without means. As a consequence of either these misfortunes the capacity of the victims is reduced, not alone by fear and worry, but by actual deprivation. If by any possible means the awful dread of unemployment and indigent old age can be relieved or even mitigated, all right thinking men will be willing to adopt that means. As to the burden of such a system of relief, it must, if systematized, be much less than that of the poor house, the insane asylums and too a large extent the prisons, all of which are in a greater or less degree made necessary by the conditions that create unemployment and poverty.

The Best Method of Teaching History. It is being demonstrated that the best method of teaching history is by the motion picture plan. The pictures viewed most numerously are those that depict some phase of history in an attractive manner. Witness the several pictures that present the period of Henry VIII, the Crusades, the French Revolution, or life on the great western plains, such as the "Covered Wagon" and other picturization of Hough's books. So too the present spectacle presenting the great Cardinal Richlieu, and the perhaps more spectacular "Ten Commandments."

Some time, maybe, Catholic enterprise will arise to the successful achievement of depicting Catholic history. It would be of immense value and the field is practically unlimited. While waiting for such a time it is not inappropriate to endeavor to have historical films viewed, criticised and if possible made to square with the truth. For in the great motion pictures as well as in the great periodicals there is still a tendency to sin either by omission or commission against the Church. To say or depict untruths, expressly or by inference; to say too little or too much or to do injustice by silence.

There are reasons for believing that the producers have learned that it is not advantageous to permit their pictures to be faulty in any of these respects. It gets them nothing to offend any large class of the public. It may therefore, be set down as a strong probability at least that defects of the character alluded to are the results of ignorance or negligence. If the producers knew in advance that their offerings contained defects it is highly probable they would eliminate them.

This supposition suggests the idea of some authoritative body to which films might be submitted for the discovery and prevention of such errors.

History Making Changes in Catholic Jurisdiction. Within recent months two very important changes have taken place in the organization of the Church in Illinois. By one the see site of the diocese in the center of the State has been changed from Alton to Springfield and by the other the Archbishop of Chicago has been raised to the cardinalate.

The diocese of Alton was carved out of the original Illinois diocese (Chicago) which at first embraced the entire state, on January 9, 1857. Prior to this time (July 29, 1853) a new diocese had been created and Quincy was

named as the see city, but the French clergyman named as bishop never came to claim his see, and when the matter was again taken up the see city was changed to Alton.

Now, after a lapse of sixty-four years another change has brought the seat of the bishop to Springfield, the state capital. It is of interest to note that as early as 1836, eight years prior to the establishment of the diocese of Chicago, Father St. Cyr, who had been asked by Bishop Rosati to look the ground over and advise him what point in Illinois would be the most suitable for the residence of a bishop when one should be appointed, recommended Springfield.

In elevating Archbishop Mundelein to the cardinalate the religious status of Illinois and the Middle West has been greatly exalted. While it may be true that the jurisdictional status is practically unchanged the standing of the region in the world church is greatly raised. New powers and corresponding responsibilities have been added that will be reflected to all the people.

With a cardinal in the chief city and a bishop in the capitol of the State, Illinois stands at the beginning of a new era in Church history and activity.

BOOK REVIEW

The Knights of Columbus in Illinois. The above is the title of a book of nearly 1,000 pages just issued by the State Council of the Knights of Columbus of the State of Illinois.

The volume was prepared by Past State Deputy, Joseph J. Thompson, who has been a member of the Order almost since the introduction of the society in the State and who has held many official positions including the office of State Deputy. He is accordingly well acquainted with the activities of the society and conclusively proves his familiarity with all the work of the Order in the contents of the book.

There are in effect three parts of the work, the first part treating in five chapters the origin and character of the Order, its relations with the Church, the insurance system, historic Knighthood and the protonym, Columbus.

The second part deals in nine chapters with the local councils, the State Council, the Chicago Chapter, the Fourth Degree, ceremonials, miscellaneous activities and post war work.

The third part has relation to the World War and in four extended chapters the war story is told in full. In this part are set forth the names of the twelve thousand members who served from Illinois, the list and stories of those who died and those cited or decorated. The details of the war work and the names and accounts of the Illinois war chaplains and Knights of Columbus secretaries.

It is believed that no book published since the war has been as satisfactory or authoritative in reference to the war record and it is but justice to say that the portions of the book relating to other works of the Knights in Illinois are eminently satisfactory.

The book is handsomely bound and excellently manufactured. It contains numerous illustrations, well selected. The selling price has been fixed at \$1.75. Copies may be secured from the Council Secretary or from the Chicago Chapter, Knights of Columbus, 165 West Madison Street, Chicago.—Western Catholic (Quincy, Ill.).

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

Of Illinois Catholic Historical Review, published quarterly at Chicago, Illinois, for April 1st, 1924.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, COUNTY OF COOK-SS.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared, Joseph J. Thompson, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Illinois Catholic Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.

Corporation not for profit.

Editor, Joseph J. Thompson, Chicago, Ill.

Managing Editor, Joseph J. Thompson, Chicago, Ill.

- 2. That the owner is: The Illinois Catholic Historical Society, Chicago. Ill., Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, S. J., Pres., Chicago, Ill., P. J. Murphy, Treas., Chicago, Ill.
- 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:

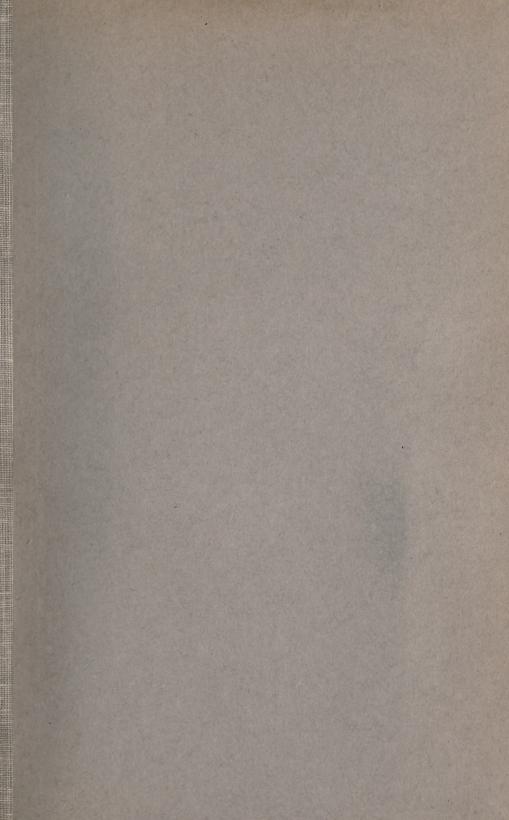
None.

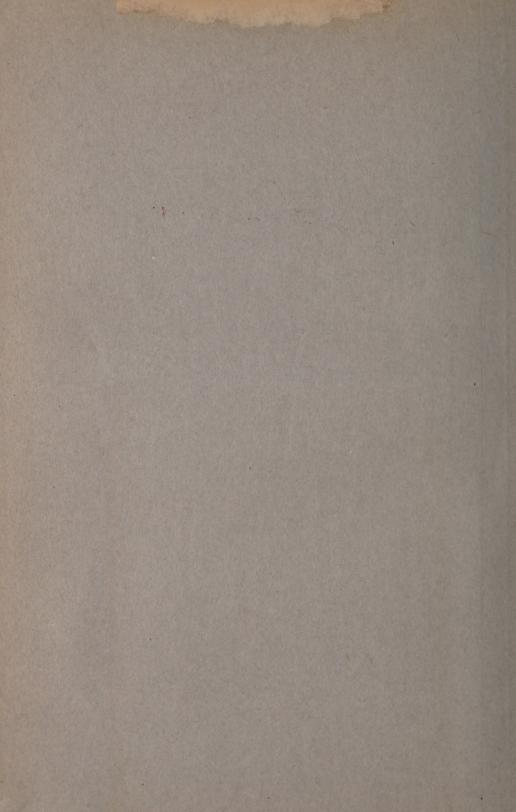
4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribet before me this 16th day April, 1924.

(SEAL) ANTON O. LANDES, Notary Public. (My commission expires April 26th, 1926.





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